

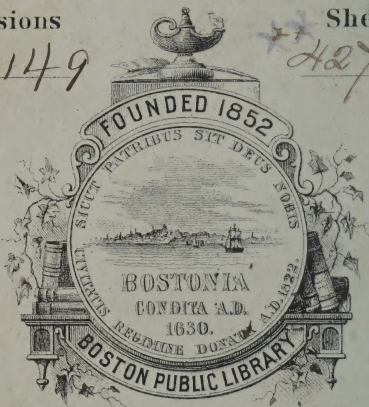


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*Joseph Wolff*

MISSIONARY.



# RESEARCHES

AND

# MISSIONARY LABOURS

AMONG THE

JEWS, MOHAMMEDANS, AND OTHER SECTS,

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH WOLFF,

DURING HIS TRAVELS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1831 AND 1834,

*From Malta to Egypt, Constantinople, Armenia, Persia, Khorossaun,  
Toorkestaun, Bokhara, Balkh, Cabool in Affghanistaun, the  
Himmalayah Mountains, Cashmeer, Hindoostaun,  
the Coast of Abyssinia, and Yemen.*

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"Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you, for so did their fathers to the false prophets."—LUKE vi. 26.

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FIRST AMERICAN EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR.

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AMERICAN FRIENDS,

In editing this new edition, I subjoin the following recommendation I got from the *Quarterly Review*; beside, you will be aware that Dr. Seabury, the editor of the *New York Churchman*, has declared me to be insane.

JOSEPH WOLFF,  
MISSIONARY.

RECOMMENDATION.—“The Reverend Joseph Wolff, a religious fanatic.”—*Quarterly Review*, 1834.





TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE J. H. FRERE.

---

DEAR SIR,

A complete stranger to you, I came to your house; and you not only granted me the rites of hospitality, but at a moment when I was deprived of all the means of executing my purpose of preaching the tidings of salvation in the land of Bokhara and Affghanistaun, you offered me, without my soliciting it, your kind assistance.\* After enjoying for several months your most instructive conversation, and wandering in spirit together through the opinions of the Ancients, and communicating our ideas on higher points, regarding the eternal welfare of human beings, I set out for my perilous journey: with your help I was able to make out my way, and to rescue myself from difficulties; and during the time of my absence, you, your sister and Miss Jane Frere treated with the utmost kindness those that are dearest to me; so that even my boy of three years old seems to be sensible of it, and has learnt to look up to you with reverence and gratitude. To whom else, therefore, but to you should I dedicate these humble pages, containing the Acts of my Pilgrimage to Bokhara, Balkh, Cabool, Cashmeer, and

\* Mr. Wolff repaid Mr. Frere every penny.

Hindoostaun? especially as I hope soon to undertake another pilgrimage; not knowing that which may befall me, nor whether I shall ever see you again. To none then, I repeat it, can I dedicate the results of my labours with more satisfaction to myself, than to you. But I feel that I am addressing one of whom I am incompetent to speak in terms commensurate with merit; indeed, to the inhabitants of this island it were superfluous to do so: all, from the highest to the lowest, allow, that to the native poor you are looked upon as a blessing; your hospitality is known to all. And I confidently add, that I do not know where I should look for an individual, combining, like yourself, so many of the best gifts of our nature with so much profound erudition; so much benevolence with so much nobleness of intellect. In venturing to write this my genuine sentiment, it is not flattery, but truth which prompts me, and I am convinced that in doing so I have the suffrages of all who know you.

This book then, thus dedicated, may remain as a mark of the ardent gratitude of the writer, who, with prayers for you and your whole house, is ever,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and affectionate  
Friend and servant,

JOSEPH WOLFF,  
Missionary.

*Malta, 29th January, 1835.*

## PREFACE.

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The Reader must not expect to find in the pages of my journal descriptions of ancient monuments, or of natural or artificial curiosities. The object of my journey, as I have stated in it, was solely to proclaim the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ, among the Jews, and the tribes whom I have visited; and to seek for those tribes of Israel whom I conceive to be the Kings of the East, mentioned in the Revelation of Jesus Christ. I have however at the same time given the best account in my power of those sects which have been hitherto unknown, and of the character of those nations to whom the Gospel of Jesus Christ has not been revealed, their good qualities, and their vices; but chiefly the expectations, expressed by my own nation, the Jews, in distant countries. I have not entirely passed over in silence the adventures I met with in those countries, and the disappointments I experienced in my labours; nor the customs and manners of the nations I visited; which especially illustrate historical facts, manners, and modes of speaking, and which we frequently meet with in *sacred writ*. I have also pointed out such situations in which Missionary Societies may extend their operations; and I have spoken with impartiality of the success which Missionaries have met with in the East. So that I humbly trust, the Christian will here find sufficient motives to admire

God's Providence in preserving his servants; and Missionary Societies find matter for encouragement in the extending of their labours to those benighted countries. The individual Missionary may find matter for confirming his confidence in the Lord; the Divine, matter for research. By my openly disputing with Mussulmans at Meshed, and throughout Khorossaun, which I am enabled to testify by letters from Mohammedans of those countries, and the passports of the Princes of Persia, and the King of Bokhara, which I have annexed, it may be seen that one may travel with these objects without disguise. I have abstained from introducing subjects of controversy amongst real Christians; for my purpose in publishing this journal is, to edify all those who worship the name of our divine Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and to encourage them in uniting together in opposition to Jews, Mohammedans, Infidels, and Pagans. If the Reader should find that these objects have been attained, it will be a great satisfaction to the Author; and if they should feel themselves in some measure disappointed in their expectations, they will take into consideration, that these pages came from a humble individual, such as

JOSEPH WOLFF,

MISSIONARY.



# RESEARCHES

OF THE

REV. JOSEPH WOLFF.

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I HAVE already given to the public, in three separate volumes, the journals of my Missionary labours among my brethren of the Jewish nation in Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Krimea, Georgia, and the Turkish Empire, which I began in 1821 and accomplished in 1826. My labours among my brethren in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and again in the Mediterranean, from the year 1826 to 1830, were published in the "Jewish Expositor." I now communicate to the Church my labours among my brethren in TURKEY, PERSIA, TURKESTAUN, BOKHARA, AFFGHANISTAUN, CASHMEER, HINDOOSTAN, and the RED SEA, from the year 1831 to 1834, which I have accomplished through divine grace, with the motives also, which induced me to undertake this journey.

In the first place, it was my earnest desire to make known to my brethren of the Jewish nation, Jesus Christ, the Son of God and rightful heir to David's throne; whose kingdom shall extend itself from the rising of the sun, to the going down thereof; and, encouraged by the example of St. Paul, (Rom. xv. 20,) to preach the tidings of Salvation in those places, where the pure light of the Gospel does not yet shine.

Besides this, I often asked myself, how my brethren fare, whose ancestors were scattered, after the captivity of Babylon: those tribes of Israel, who, according to the sacred oracles, shall be united to the house of Judah; and whose present abode is a matter of speculation among many Christian Divines, and Jewish Rabbies. The latter assign to them a fabulous country, which they call "The land of darkness, beyond the Sabbathical river." Benjamin Tudela, and the Jews of Jerusalem boldly asserted, that they were residing at Halah and Habor, which they state to be the present Balkh and Bokhara. In the year 1829, being then at Jerusalem, I said to my wife, "Bokhara and Balkh are very much in my mind, for I think I shall there find the Ten Tribes." "Well," she replied, "I have no objection to your going there." In consequence of this, I took my wife to Alexandria, and then made an excursion to Salonica, to see the followers of SHABATAY ZEBI, a Jewish sect;

and from thence returned to Malta, where I left my family in the circle and care of kind friends; and, furnished with money from one whom I may term a fatherly friend, I left Malta on the 29th December, 1830, in the French brig *Triomphante*, for Alexandria. We had fine weather and favourable winds.

*December 30, 1830.*—Preached the gospel of Christ to the captain and sailors. The Captain, although he disbelieved the Bible, abstained from meat on Friday.

*January 1, 1831.*—I was delighted at observing this day marks of devotion among French sailors, signing themselves with the cross, and reading the Scriptures which I gave them. Religion in any form, is much more consoling and cheering than infidelity! The captain spoke with delight of the discoveries made by Champollion in Hieroglyphics. As long as those Savans communicate their hypothesis with modesty and deference, their exertions are laudable; but as soon as they attempt to invalidate the testimony of the sacred records with their A. B. C. inventions, they render themselves liable to be suspected as charlatans. Moses must have understood Hieroglyphics better than Champollion.

#### ARRIVAL AT ALEXANDRIA.

*January 8, 1831.*—I arrived at Alexandria in Egypt, for the sixth time; where I met with Captain Lyons, commanding *H. M. S. Blonde*, in which, on his arrival at Alexandria, Sir John Malcolm was expected to sail for Malta. Having been exiled from Egypt, five months previous to this, by order of Mohammed Ali, on account of my having preached to Mohammedans, I put myself on board the *Blonde*; where I remained, until Mr. Barker, the British Consul, assured me I might come on shore. I lived with the family of Mr. Gliddon.

*January 10.* The power of Mohammed Ali has increased, through the weakness and timidity of the Sultan; and people of discernment believe, that Mohammed Ali\* is making preparations to dethrone him; it is conjectured, that the Sultan has given him Candia, in order to embroil him with the European powers, who might interfere, if he attempted to subdue the Candiotes by force.†

#### DAFTAR DAR BEY.

The Daftar Dar Bey, son-in-law to Mohammed Ali, does not live with his wife; both are dissolute characters. He, the Daftar Dar Bey, is a true and genuine Mussulman, for the religion of Islam accords very well with the practice of immorality. The following cruel acts are related of him. When he returned ten years ago from the Sanaar, he brought a lion with him: and his delight was, to see flesh thrown to this animal, and afterwards drawn out of the lion's mouth by some poor Arab, at the imminent risk of his destruction!

\* Query. Is not Mohammed Ali, after all, the cruel Lord mentioned in Isaiah, as the predicted Ruler over Egypt? Is. xix. 4.

† In the year 1832 the Pasha actually brought into fulfilment this apprehension.

One day, when mounting his favourite horse, he observed it to be lame, and examining into the cause, it appeared that one of the shoe-nails had wounded his foot; whereupon he sent for his chief groom, and asked him how many years he had been in his service; the groom replied, "Twenty years;" the Daftar Dar Bey rejoined, "And in so many years, you have not learned to shoe a horse? now I will teach you;" and upon this, he ordered two horse-shoes to be nailed on to the poor man's feet! This man is since dead.

*January 10.*—I proclaimed the gospel to some disciples of Rousseau, and to some Carbonari. It is curious to see those preachers of pseudo liberty taking refuge with and serving the Egyptian tyrant, and assisting him in oppressing the poor Felah (peasantry).

## CAVIGLIA.

It is remarkable, that Egypt has been, in several ages, the seat of mystical philosophy: once that of the Essenes, then Philo the Jew, Pythagoras, and now Caviglia, who formerly distinguished himself by his discoveries in the Pyramids, and now devotes his time to the most abstruse researches of mystical antiquity. I found him in possession of a very curious book, entitled "*Delle Scuole Sacre, libri due postumi del Conte Palatino Domenico Aulesio.*" According to this author, (of whom I never heard before) there had been at Theman, an Academy of Science, and another at Debir or Kirjath Sepher, mentioned in Jeremiah xlix. 7, and in Joshua xv. 15, 49.

It is also said by him, I known not upon what ground, that Moses found the genealogy, mentioned in the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis, in the Synagogues of Egypt.

## DEPARTURE FOR DAMIAT.

*Jun. 19, 1831.*—It was my intention at first, to have proceeded by sea from Damiat to Adalyah, called also Sataliah; but when I arrived at Damiat, I found no ship there; I stopt therefore a few days at Damiat, and proclaimed the gospel to Jews and Mohammedans. The Mufti of Damiat made me acquainted with the four Classes of the Mohammedans, who have different rites.

1. Hanefee, to which the Sultan himself, and all the inhabitants of Anatolia belong.
2. Shafae, to which class the Mohammedans in Egypt belong.
3. Malke, which comprises those in Yemen, the Arabs, and the Moors in Barbary.
4. Hambare, this class is not extensive.

## VIEWS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS AT DAMIAT RESPECTING MOHDE.

Of the twelve Imams or followers of Mohammed, the last disappeared when a child; and the Mohammedans believe in his coming again. At Damiat, the following expectation was expressed to me about Mohde. The Mohde shall come from Khorossaun with a black flag, his name shall be Mohammed Mohde, and he shall go to Mecca, where he shall be proclaimed Sovereign; thence

he shall go to Damascus, accompanied by Michael, Gabriel, and Seraphiel, and three thousand other angels; there he shall reign thirty or forty years, and shall take Constantinople; and at the end of his government, there shall be a famine, and Antichrist shall make his appearance, who shall make war with Mohde, and Mohde shall be put to flight, and Antichrist shall reign forty days: one day like a year, the second day like a month, the third day like a week, and thirty-seven days like other days; and Antichrist shall go round the world, except Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Mount Sinai and Khorossaun; and he shall feed those who worship him.

After this, Jesus Christ shall come down upon the Mosque Amawe at Damascus; and there he shall find Muhammed Mohde, and Mohde shall meet Antichrist at Lyt, near Jaffa; and Jesus Christ shall kill Antichrist with a lance; whose army, composed of Jews, shall take to flight. Then Jesus Christ shall reign forty years; then the earth shall be good, and shall bring forth fruit without being sown. At last Gog and Magog\* shall appear; the Lord Jesus Christ shall go to meet them at the head of twelve thousand men, and shall go to Mount Sinai, where Gog and Magog shall be killed by birds, who shall carry their bodies into distant lands. Then the Almighty shall send rain to cleanse the earth from their stench; then Christ shall descend from Sinai, and shall remain on earth seven years; then all the just shall die; then Seraphiel shall blow the trumpet, and all the rest shall die.

#### ORIGIN OF DREAMS.

According to my friend, the Mufti, men have two spirits; the one, at the time of sleep, goes about in the world, to seek news for the other spirit, which remains behind. I thereupon proclaimed to the Mufti, to the native Christians and Jews, my belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, in the power of his blood, his resurrection, and the future glory of his coming, when he shall take possession of the earth, in royal and sacerdotal dignity.

#### DEPARTURE FROM DAMIAT, AND RETURN TO ALEXANDRIA.

Not having been able to find at Damiat a boat either for Lattachia or Adalyah, I returned to Alexandria, with my black servant, whom I had formerly baptized at that place. We arrived there on February 5. I preached the gospel of Christ the same day.

French liberals were preparing to return to their native country. Oh! what a spirit of rebellion is now prevailing in Europe! What an awful "gainsaying" of *Korath*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* is now again prevailing within thy camp, O Lord! The Kings, the anointed of the Lord, are cast down from their thrones by an Atheistical Mob! And the faces of the Priests are not honoured!†

\* Gog and Magog, according to the Mufti of Damiat, are two nations, that inhabit a part of the world, which was shut up by Alexander the Great.

† It was at this time, the churches at Paris were wantonly dese-



## DEPARTURE FROM ALEXANDRIA FOR SATTALIAH.

*February 12, 1831.*—Accompanied by Mr. Gliddon, on board a Turkish vessel, which was bound to Sattaliah, commonly called Adalyah, I left Alexandria with my black servant.

A dervish from Bokhara was on board as a passenger. As he spoke Persian, I was able to converse with him. He had gone from Bokhara to Khorossaun, Sheeras, Busheer, Juddah, Mecca and Egypt, and is now returning to Bokhara (“by the help of God,” as he expressed himself) by the way of Erzeroom: and by the help of God, I hope also to arrive at Bokhara, to proclaim His name, His everlasting name, the name of Him, whose going forth was from of old, from days everlasting—the name of Jesus Christ.

## CONVERSATION WITH TURKS AND ARABS ON BOARD THE SHIP.

I showed to the Turks and Arabs on board, that we have passages in Scripture, that may vie in beauty and sublimity with those passages in the Koran, which they boast of as the most sublime.

The ship was filled with pilgrims and their slaves, returning from Mecca to Constantinople. We arrived safe at Adalyah on

*Feb. 21.*—I took up my abode with the Greek Archbishop, who has the title of Archbishop of Pisidia; his name is Hierasymus, he was born at Enos. In the time of the Greek revolution, he was exiled from his cathedral. He was formerly married, and has one son, who pursued his medical studies in Italy. Hierasymus, after the death of his wife, entered as a monk in a convent dependant on Mount Sinai, and was then made Archbishop of Adalyah, Castel Oroso, and Buldur, which comprise the province of Pisidia: he is very actively engaged in the study of the Ecclesiastical Law, (Νόμος Βασιλικός) or the Laws of the Greek Emperors, which are contained in a book called *Κανονιστικόν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτου*. The Greeks of Adalyah always brought their disputes before their Diocesan, whom they likewise call *Κρίτης*, i. e. Judge. Nations oppressed, as are the Jews and Greeks, do not like to bring the disputes they have among themselves, before their oppressors; they prefer having them settled by their spiritual guide; agreeable to 1 Cor. vi. 6. It is edifying to see the confidence placed in him. His whole diocese consists of 11,150 Greeks, who speak the Turkish language, but write it with Greek characters.

One day, this amiable Archbishop became angry with his servants, and exclaimed, “When I had a wife, all things were in order; but now all is in confusion. St. Paul was in the right when he said, a Bishop should be the husband of one wife.”

There are at Adalyah 1500 Greeks, and 150 Armenians. Adalyah is the Attalia mentioned in Acts xiv. 25, and Pisidia is mentioned Acts xiv. 24. In the whole province of Pisidia, the greatest ignorance prevails among the Christians. In those

erated, the cross pulled down, and the residence of the Archbishop assaulted and sacked.

places which have not been visited by Roman Catholic missionaries, great barbarity exists; this may be said of the whole of the provinces of Pisidia and Pamphylia: they are ignorant of their religion, and ignorant of their history. I distributed some Testaments and tracts among those who were able to read them. The plague was raging at this time among the Turks; the cases of plague were rare among the Greeks. On asking them the reason, they replied, "We go twice to church every day to hear the Holy Liturgy, and are sprinkled all over with holy water! It is the Cross that preserves us." *Kyrie Eleison! Kyrie Eleison!* I heard every day. Though prayer may be made as well in a private room as in the church, it is a holy custom of the Eastern nations, and of Catholics, to go daily to church.

*Feb. 27.*—I left the house of my kind Archbishop, and arrived on the following day at the place called Bultur or Burdur. A person may travel from Adalyah to this place, unmolested by the Turks: they are kind and hospitable.

*March 3.*—I called on the Armenian priest here who was sent from Wan. There are here 500 Armenians, in the greatest ignorance. If you ask an Armenian, "Are you a Christian?" he replies, "No, I am an Armenian: I do not make the sign of the cross in the same manner as the Christians (i. e. the Greeks) do." For it is to be observed, that the Greeks only call themselves Christians in Anatolia. The Greeks here, though I had letters from their Bishop, shewed me not the least attention, partly from ignorance, and partly from fear of the Turks. An old physician from Cephalonia, Covara by name, was the only person who shewed me any kindness.

#### INFALLIBILITY OF COUNCILS.

An Aleppine at Bultur endeavoured to prove to me the infallibility of Councils, relating at the same time, the following absurd story. Two Bishops were about to proceed to a general Council, assembled for deciding a matter of great moment: one was an old and orthodox Christian, the other was a young man and a heretic. The young Bishop tried to prevent the attendance of the other, by killing the old Bishop's ass, whilst the Bishop was asleep. The ass was a black one; he also killed the ass of the old Bishop's servant, which was white. He then set off for the Council, and on his arrival told the assembled fathers, that the old Bishop could not come on account of illness. The latter on awaking, ordered his servant to saddle the asses; but the servant told him, that their heads had been cut off. The Bishop then said to his servant, "Take both heads, make upon them the sign of the cross, and place each head upon its own carcass, and they shall come to life again!" The servant went, and placed the head of the black ass upon the carcass of the white one; and the head of the white ass upon the carcass of the black one. They then set off for the place where the council was to be held, where they arrived, to the astonishment of all, with two asses who had changed heads.

*March 6.*—I received by people from Iconium, the following information respecting that place, which is mentioned in Acts xiii. 51, and xvi. 2; also 2 Tim. iii. 11. There are 40 Greek and 280 Armenian houses. The Greeks have one Bishop whose name is Anthymus. To Iconium belong forty villages, inhabited by Greeks, which are called by the Turks, Giaur Koy, (villages of infidels.) At Bultur I met with a Jew from Broosa, to whom I preached the gospel.

#### IMPERIAL FAST-DAY AMONG THE GREEKS.

It is said that the Emperor Constantine ate meat on the 8th March, and pieces of it remaining between his teeth, he decreed a fast to be kept on this day. The Greek Priests are very ignorant.

Kurios Saba Seraphim, a Greek from Cesarea, was intimately acquainted with the active and zealous missionary Mr. Gridley from America, who died at Cesarea. The Greeks here, desired me to procure for them English passports, which, they said, would protect them from the oppression of the Turks.

#### CESAREA.

I learn by people from Cesarea in Pamphylia, that there are in that place 10,000 Armenians and 1,750 Greeks, and in the surrounding villages 25,000 Armenians and 15,000 Greeks. The name of the Greek bishop at Cesarea is Chrysanthos; and the name of the Armenian bishop is Hakobos Wartabet. The name of the Greek Primate is Michael Giorganjoglu, that of the Armenian Primate is Sartar Oglus Karapet. I give these names for the information of missionaries, who may be inclined to go there. At Taxiarchi Koy, near Cesarea, is the great convent called Michael Archangelos.

#### SPARTA.

Sparta is only a few hours from Buldur, which, they say, was formerly colonized by Greeks from Sparta in Greece. The Greeks find there an enormous quantity of coins. If a depot of Bibles were made in the house of the Archbishop of Attalia, they might easily be sent to all these places.

#### COMPLAINTS MADE BY THE MUSSULMANS.

"The Nesaam (new discipline) looks well, but the strength of Islam is gone: since the Janissaries have been put down, we have had war upon war. Daud Pasha at Bagdad is a rebel, and the poor are required to pay more than they are able." The whole of this country belonged to the Genoese; the ruins of castles ascribed to them, and the memory of their name, prove the ancient grandeur of that nation.

#### DEPARTURE FROM BULDUR.

*March 12.*—I left Buldur, and arrived at Kitshiborlu. The day following, I arrived at Santokloo, which is entirely inhabited by Turks; but in the khan, (*Inn*) I met with Greek and Armenian

merchants from Akhshehir, Kiutaya and Sparta, who were very kind to me. When I asked them of what denomination they were, the Greeks replied, "We are partly Christians, partly Armenians, partly Papistian," i. e. Papists or Armenian Catholics. It is to be observed, that the Armenian Catholics there call themselves Papistian. I proclaimed to them the gospel of Christ, and his future coming.

#### FEAST OF BAIRAM.

*March 15.*—We were in a Turkish house in the village called Pasha Koy; the Turks were celebrating their Bairam. Early in the morning, they went to the mosque; after which, they invited their Mullah to their house, and had a frugal dinner. Many Christians, alas! in the East, celebrate their Easter by getting drunk. I suffered much on the road, from the sulkiness of my black servant.

*March 17.*—I arrived at Kiutaya in Phrygia, mentioned in Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23. The inhabitants of this place are, Turks 4500, Greeks 1750, Armenians 3500, and Armenian Catholics 2500.

Every one of these Christian denominations has its Bishop. I called on Theodosius, who is Archbishop of Kiutaya in Phrygia, and Angora in Galatia; he resides two years at Angora, and two years at Kiutaya; he is a good natured man, but unfortunately deaf; he gave me a room in his house, and the kind gentleman waited on me at table. He lamented, that now many Armenians at Kiutaya were turning Catholics, since the Sultan had issued a firman in favour of Roman Catholics. I preached the gospel to some Greek Priests.

The Archbishop of this place spoke highly of the amiable and active Rev. Mr. Leeves. He desired me to send some Greco-Turkish Testaments from Constantinople.

*March 19.*—I left Kiutaya, and arrived at Almatshék; where I conversed with the Turks about Jesus Christ. Oh, what a blessed hour it is, which is passed in speaking of our Lord Jesus Christ!

In a village called Dodurga, a Turkish soldier of the new discipline tried to entertain me and my landlord, by practising the exercise. My landlord, a Turk, sighed! The country is full of exiled Governors and Pashas.

It is remarkable, that in all those Turkish towns I passed through, the bakers are Greeks from Yaneena.

#### ARRIVAL AT BROOSA.

*March 24.*—I arrived at Broosa in Bithynia, into which country St. Paul essayed to go, but was not permitted by the Spirit. Acts xvi. 7. I resided with Mons. Crispin, a French gentleman. Mr. Zorab lent me money to carry me to Constantinople. The inhabitants of Broosa are, Turks, 4000; Greeks, 3000; Jews, 1500; Armenians, 15000; and Armenian Catholics, 3000.



## ARRIVAL AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

*March 27.*—I arrived at Constantinople for the third time, and was kindly received by His Excellency Sir Robert Gordon, Messrs. Cartwright, Buchanan, Kennedy and others. While I remained at Constantinople, I lectured and preached to the English, Italians, and Jews. I called on His Eminence the Greek Patriarch Constantios, formerly Archbishop of Mount Sinai, who furnished me with letters of introduction. I observed at Constantinople the steps taken by the Sultan, for bringing about the accomplishment of those prophecies, which predict the downfall of the Turkish Empire, under the emblem of the drying up of the river Euphrates. It is somewhat remarkable that the Jews at Constantinople believe it to be the place where Job lived, i. e. the land of Uz. At Constantinople are many of the sect of Shabatay Zebi, the pretended Messiah in the 17th century, who apostatized and became a Turk: nevertheless the sect still continues. I have already given a full account of the Jews of Constantinople in my former journals. I should here mention with gratitude, that His Excellency Sir Robert Gordon offered me as much money as I might want for my journey to Persia; but, as I had a kind patron at Malta, I did not take advantage of His Excellency's generosity.

## DEPARTURE FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.

*April 5.*—I had embarked for Trebison on board a Genoese ship; but as she put back to Buyuk Dere on the 10th, I determined to perform the journey by land.

*April 21.*—I took post horses, and set out for Gheba, nine hours from Constantinople. Towards evening, the postilion refused to proceed, unless I made him a present; as I would not be so imposed upon, I went on foot, and he followed.

*April 22.*—We arrived at Ismi in Nicodemia; this place is inhabited by Turks, 7500; Greeks, 400; Armenians, 2000; and Jews, 100.

The name of the Greek Archbishop is Apamias Benedictos, who received me very kindly into his house.

*April 23.*—Arrived at Sabanja, inhabited by Turks and a few ignorant Greeks. I took up my abode in the khan, (Turkish inn.) Towards evening, an Armenian Catholic arrived from Sabas near Tokat, who was lately banker to the Sultan. His name is Tenker Oglo. He was exiled in the year 1823 with the rest of the Armenian Catholics, but is now restored to his office. He gave me a letter of introduction to the Woywoda (Governor) of Gheba. From thence I went to Teraklea, and Torbalo. In the district of Torbalo, there are 1000 Armenians.

*April 27.*—Arrived at Nali Han, inhabited by 1000 Turks, 500 Armenians, and a few Greek bakers from Yaneena. Along the whole of this road, I found that the Turks hated the Sultan.

*April 29.*—I arrived at Bey Bazar, inhabited by Turks. The Banker of the Governor was an Armenian, in whose house I



lodged. Here I had several opportunities of speaking with the Turks about Christ.

*April 30.*—I arrived at Ayash, a Turkish town. I resided with a Mohammedan Mullah, where I met with Ibrahim Pasha of Go-roon, who had been made a prisoner by the Russians.

#### ARRIVAL AT ANGORA OR ANGOROO.

*May 1.*—Arrived at Angoroo, the ancient Galatia. There is a convent near this town, belonging to the Armenians, where it is believed that the Apostle Paul resided. On the first day of my arrival, I lodged in the Greek convent. The next day, the Armenian Catholic Archbishop, for whom I had letters, sent for me. He is a good natured, active old man; he offered me every assistance in his power. He is a great favourite with the Court of Rome. The inhabitants of Angoroo are, Turks, 50,000; Greeks, 1500; Jews, 500; Armenians, 250; and Armenian Catholics, 15,000. The latter were converted to the Catholic religion, one hundred and fifty years ago. There I met with Abbate Shereen, a fellow student with me at the Propaganda at Rome. I confess, that at first I was afraid that he would greatly oppose me; but on the contrary, he embraced me as an old acquaintance, and talked of the agreeable hours we had passed in the college. He only observed, "Dear Wolff, if you had remained, you would have been a Bishop!" The Armenian Catholics have twenty-two Priests. If you ask an Armenian Catholic, whether he is an Armenian, he replies, "No, I am a Kotolok," i. e. a Catholic. But it cannot be denied, that the Armenians, converted to the Roman Catholic Church, are more humane, more kind, more civilized than the rest of the Armenians in Anatolia. In those parts of Asia Minor, where the Roman Catholic missionaries have not been, the native Christians are most rude and uncivilized; the Greeks at Angoroo form an honourable exception. For Seraphim of Adalyah, who was Archbishop of Angora, went to Venice, and there translated the Psalms of David into the Turkish language with Greek characters, which translation even received the sanction of the Pope. He afterwards wrote three books against the Pope, which he called Σάλπιξ εὐαγγελική, "the Evangelical Trump." This compelled Seraphim to leave Venice and go to Angoroo, where he was first a Schoolmaster, and then an Archbishop. Dionysios Hieromonachos translated the New Testament into Greco-Turkish, with some portions of the Old Testament.

The Armenian Catholics divide themselves into two classes: into "Mehiterites," i. e. Armenians of the College of Venice; and "Allunni della Propaganda." The Mehiterites say, that their Patriarch Ostnizi was a Roman Catholic Saint: the Propagandists declare him a heretic.

Though very unwell, I proclaimed the Gospel to the Greeks and Catholics. The Greek Primate Anastas Kupegio Oglu, took me to his house, where I had the assistance of his whole family. I convinced them of the absurdity of some of their tenets. St. Theodotion suffered martyrdom here, in the time of Dioclesian.

An Armenian Catholic physician, Dr. Pietraki, expressed his desire to be useful to the British and Foreign Bible Society. There are here a great many old English Prayer books, left by the English factory, which existed here thirty-six years ago.

I had repeated interesting conversations with Greeks and Armenian Catholics, about the truth of the religion of Jesus Christ; and respecting the literal interpretation of unaccomplished prophecy, and the future Christo-archy at Jerusalem. They were all convinced, after I had read to them the 20th chapter of Revelations. The Armenian Catholic Archbishop I found to be a liberal and kind hearted man. I cannot bear to hear people canting about the illiberality of Catholics: that there exists illiberality among them is certain; but, this is not confined to Roman Catholics. I found a similar spirit of illiberality not only among Protestants, but likewise, to a high degree, among the Neologists in Germany. Johann Heinrich Voss, the Neologer at Heidelberg, behaved with greater illiberality, intolerance, and ingratitude towards Count Stolberg, than a Roman Catholic in the 16th century would ever have done towards a Protestant.

*May 4.*—I dined with the Armenian Catholic Archbishop, (to whom I had been recommended by Sir Robert Gordon) and with the Primates of the Armenian Catholics. It is to be observed, that the Armenian Catholics, and Orientals in general, subject to the Pope, are frequently very liberal when not watched by Italian Priests.

#### JEWES OF ANGOROO.

*May 5.*—When the Jews were driven out of Spain, they went to all parts of Asia Minor, and the coasts of Africa. They were kindly received by the Turks, and treated as “Musaffir,” i. e. Travellers. The Jews of Angoroo are the descendants of those Sefardim\* that were driven out of Spain. They have lived there for these 300 years. I left them a Bible, and expounded to them the Scriptures in the synagogues. They are not in possession of the Talmudical books.

#### VISIT TO THE CADI AND GOVERNOR OF ANGOROO.

Both the Cadi and Governor desired to see me. I went and explained to them the object of my mission. The Cadi observed, that people ought to live quietly at home, and not concern themselves about the religion of others. I replied, that neither Mohammed or his followers could have been of that opinion, for they were anxious that others should embrace their sentiments. He informed me that the name of Angoroo was formerly Amoorea. I had a discussion with the Director of the Police, about the authenticity of the Scriptures.

#### ARMENIAN, CATHOLIC, AND GREEK LADIES OF ANGOROO.

The Armenian, Catholic and Greek ladies are not, like the

\* All Jews who are descendants of the Spanish Jews, are called Sefardim.

Turkish and Armenian ladies of Anatolia, shut up in their harems; but welcome strangers, and exhibit a modest and ladylike deportment.

## SIGNOR ANASTAS KUPEGIO OGLU

Is a Greek merchant, but well acquainted with the Greek Fathers of the Church, and is an able Divine. I lived latterly in his house, and conversed freely with him on all points. He has the good of his nation at heart, and tried by arguments to put a stop to the progress of the Catholics.

## HAJI DEMETRAKI.

An amiable and inquisitive Greek; he is desirous that their liturgy should be in the Turkish language, as nobody here, except Kupegio Oglu, understands ancient Greek. Thus we see, that in every country there are people who see the want of a reform in certain points; but reform often ends in pulling down, instead of building up.

## CONVERSION OF A JEW IN ANATOLIA.

Demetraki is in possession of a Greek manuscript, which contains the following account of a Jew converted to Christianity, written by himself. He relates, that he performed miracles by his power with devils. A young man called upon him one day, and promised him a large sum of money, if he would cause the affections of a certain girl to be so disposed towards him, as to consent to marry him. The Jew applied his art for this purpose, but produced no effect upon the girl. On asking her the reason of it, she said that she was a Christian, and to a Christian witchcraft can do no harm. This circumstance induced him to become a Christian, and he took the name of Cyprianus. He has written a book, in which he recommends, that when a person is not able to sleep, he should read Psalm 131. He has also given in his book the names of Archangels and Devils; which I insert, as it may be useful to etymologists.

## NAMES OF ARCHANGELS.

1 Michael.	7 Kretoek.	13 Ravolam.
2 Gabriel.	8 Loel.	14 Amelichero.
3 Uriel.	9 Matthia.	15 Khoro Samuel.
4 Raphael.	10 Aphamael.	16 Iperfolat.
5 Melchidon.	11 Ukharokhtoel.	17 Yesael.
6 Samisael.	12 Ostrofael.	

## NAMES OF DEVILS.

1 Yilloo.	12 Strenga.	23 Karkeane.
2 Abisoo.	13 Ghilla.	24 Pedomene.
3 Karkaria.	14 Okf.	25 Marmalatosa.
4 Sernosa.	15 Amorfo.	26 Elnus.
5 Pignosa.	16 Pada Serea.	27 Arta.
6 Meleosa.	17 Kalomene.	28 Saeletus.

7 Padomene.	18 Kalalea.	29 Egyptiane.
8 Ablistos.	19 Martado.	30 Abidoso.
9 Miara.	20 Atrifo.	31 Genarkos.
10 Leara.	21 Aristokleosa.	32 Karanekho.
11 Afantos.	22 Smatokholeosa.	33 Ablenso.
34 Veleno.	42 Vartalos.	50 Saleponorea.
35 Karanos.	43 Trefokhtono.	51 Siniani.
36 Marmalo.	44 Rofokla.	52 Anarbarlea.
37 Ariane.	45 Gooza.	53 Mokhroto.
38 Abesa.	46 Varga.	54 Jotesa.
39 Planekho.	47 Adikia.	55 Seeze.
40 Planistria.	48 Khakhatorea.	56 Okolos.
41 Karapolia.	49 Akhortastos.	57 Monopatosa.
		58 Aphanistiria.

## ISTHANOS.

Isthanos, six hours from Angoroo, is an interesting place, inhabited by 5000 Armenians, who speak only the ancient Armenian language. There are among them 150 Mohammedans.

May 7.—The Armenian Catholic Archbishop permitted me to take the following copy of a letter addressed to the Archbishop by Cardinal Capellari, now Pope, on the Armenian Catholics being exiled from Constantinople. It appears, that the Archbishop had reported, and with truth, that the Armenians, who do not recognise the Roman Pontiff, had been the instigators of that decree, issued by the Sultan, against the Armenian Catholics. The answer is written with the utmost prudence: it is in the style of a mother who excuses her disobedient and rebellious children, and even tries to exculpate their misbehaviour. The following is a copy of the original.

Illustrissimo e Rmo. Signore,

Si è ricevuta la lettera di V. S. scritta da Kiutaya, in data dei 30 del passato Maggio. Il contenuto di questa lettera mi eccita a far con V. S. tutte quelle dichiarazioni che possono servire nelle presenti circostanze, a sollevar il di lei spirito dalle idee che lo turbano. Ella si è però persuaso, che la congregazione fa di lei tutta quella stima ch'ella merita, e che fa tutti gli elogi della pazienza, della esemplarità è dello zelo dimostrato da lei: anche in mezzo alle più gran tribolazioni. Non è però sola la S. Congregazione, a far di V. S. questi elogi, ma le di lei ottime qualità sono cognite anche ai di lei connazionali. Si hanno positivi riscontri sulli veri motivi che tuttora impediscono a V. S. il ritorno in quella capitale. Non deve Ella considerare i suoi connazionali come causa di questo male, ma deve attribuirlo al diverso punto di vista, con cui il Governo Turco riguarda i firmani di esilio rilasciati nominatamente contro persone particolari; posso poi assicurarla che i suoi connazionali medesimi di Costantinopoli hanno fatto e fanno il possibile, perchè venga tolto l'ostacolo al di lei ritorno. Confidiamo però nella provvidenza, ed aspettiamo dal Signore il

termine totale delle presenti angustie. Per quello che riguarda il regime ecclesiastico per la già seguita consacrazione del nuovo Arcivescovo Metropolitano Primate di Costantinopoli, sono in essa trasferite tutte le facoltà e giurisdizioni, che avea Monsignor Coressi, relativamente agli Armeni Cattolici che sono nella estensione delle provincie Ottomane, e che da lui dipendevano. Monsignor Nurigiano però ha scritto allo stesso Monsignor Coressi, pregandolo a continuare come prima fino al suo arrivo in Costantinopoli. Esso ha per lei grande stima ed amicizia, e desidera poterla aver seco. Tanto esso che la sua congregazione non cessa di averla in vista, per provveder nella miglior maniera possibile al di lei decoro, ed intanto resto pregando il Signore, che lungamente la conservi, e la prosperi.

Roma della Propaganda

29. Luglio 1831. di V. S. come fratello affino.

(Signed) CASTRACANO,  
Segretario.

Monsignor GIORGIO PAPAS,

Vescovo di Titopoli, Smirne, Ancira.

*May 7.*—I left Angoroo and stopped at a pleasant Turkish village, called Hassan Oglu.

*May 8.*—I arrived at Galatshik, anciently the capital of Galatia; it is situated near a river called Ghizl Armak, inhabited by 2000 Turks and 500 Armenians; the latter have one church and one Priest.

*May 9.*—I crossed the Ghizl Armak, flowing between two mountains. The country around is fertile and romantic. The Curds feed their flocks in the fields, and live in tents. The villages are inhabited by Turkomans.\* In the evening we arrived at the village called Kojoo, where the Turkomans seemed to be very much interested in my pursuits and intended journey to Bokhara; which place they knew well through information received from Dervishes.

*May 10.*—I arrived in the small town called Sangorloo, 54 miles from Galatshik. Here are 2000 Turks, 300 Armenians, and 70 Greeks. I met here with Armenians from Erivan, which place was lately taken by the Russians. "We travel now with Russian passports," said they with great delight.

*May 11.*—I arrived at Alatsha, 24 miles from Sangorloo, inhabited by 300 Turks and 30 Armenians, who are very ignorant.

*May 12.*—I rode 39 miles and arrived at Karasheesh. My mind was greatly refreshed and supported with thoughts of my Saviour. Wretch is the missionary, who does not feel every day and every hour, the necessity of imploring the support of his Saviour and Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ: he may for a while carry on his work among Jews and Gentiles, with apparent holy zeal, but if

\* These must have come from Turkeestaun: their physiognomy betrays their origin.



not invigorated and upheld by continual supplies of divine grace, he must certainly fall.

*May 13.*—I arrived at Seela, inhabited by 6000 Turks and 1000 Armenians. I lodged in the house of a kind hearted Armenian. Seela is 36 miles from Tokat.

#### ARRIVAL AT TOKAT.

*May 14.*—I arrived at Tokat, formerly called Eudoxopolis, 204 miles from Angoroo. There are at Tokat 4500 Armenians and 150 Jews. I lived first with the Armenian Catholic Bogos Bambugtshi, the most respectable of the native Christians there. As yet they have not built a church for themselves; but they were very anxious to do so; which made the rest of the Armenians very jealous. They had a priest from the convent Kereim, in Mount Lebanon, who spoke Italian. The Armenians have two convents and seven churches. Within the convent called Yoakim Anna, St. John Chrysostom slept in a well, when persecuted. The Jews have a synagogue and two colleges. The name of the principal Rabbi is Yishak Arab. I was at this time too unwell to go amongst the people, but Rabbi Leon Shmerel brought some Jews to me; he was from Safet, and knew me well, as also the Rev. Messrs. Nicolayson, and Lewis. He translated the words *הָרֵוּ וְהָרֵוּ* (empty and void) thus: the earth was *הָרֵוּ* (Tohu) i. e. *Chaos*; *יְהוָה*, *Jehovah*, *ב* *in*, *הָרֵוּ* *it was*: “Jehovah was in it.” He continued, that the world was in God, as a chicken in an egg.

*May 15.*—As I had a letter for the Armenian Aglakan, I left the house of Bambugtshi, and went to live with Aglakan; by which I offended Bambugtshi. It was imprudent in me; for Aglakan was an intolerant Armenian, who endeavoured to persuade me, that the Catholic Armenians worship the god of the Druses.

*May 17.*—I left Tokat with a worthy man, a Tatar, named Baba Kujuk Aref, Tatar of the Sublime Porte. I mention his name, for he is deserving of the notice of other travellers. I arrived at Niksar, the ancient Neo Cesarea. We crossed the Ghizl Armak in a boat. There are the ruins of a beautiful bridge, said to be built by the Genoese. I asked my Tatar, why the Turkish government did not rebuild it? he replied, “It is not the custom of the Sultan to do such things: he ruins, but never builds.” Niksar was formerly the seat of the Greek Bishop; it contains at this time 200 Greeks and 1500 Armenians.

*May 19.*—We arrived near a ruinous place, called Kol-Hizar, formerly a Bishoprick, where Johannes Kolasios fed his flock with the Gospel. No Christian resides here now.

*May 20.*—Arrived at Shebin Kara-Hizar, the Nicopolis of Armenia. It is inhabited by 4000 Armenians and 200 Greeks. I was very hospitably received by Yoannikios Nikopoleos, the Greek Bishop. I was very weak when I arrived, having performed a journey of twelve hours in the rain; the road was so bad, that I was frequently obliged to go on foot. As this journal is written chiefly for the edification of the Church, I trust to be excused in

occasionally pouring out my soul and telling them, that during my missionary wanderings I frequently, very frequently, felt the need of being supported by an increase of divine grace, in order that I might not fall into vain glory and self conceit, whilst the flight of the spirit carried me from Malta to the Oxus.

The Archbishop's jurisdiction extends over 18 places; their names are as follows:

1 Shebin Kara-Hizar.	7 Palzana.	13 Awatshik.
2 Khakhawla.	8 Karakewesit.	14 Keilik.
3 Ispahimahalla.	9 Koressa.	15 Katshikoy.
4 Trobtshe.	10 Katokhori.	16 Eskona.
5 Alessar.	11 Lizeze.	17 Sopaki.
6 Kalatshik.	12 Koyenek.	18 Koskoy.

This list may perhaps be useful to missionaries and travellers. The diocese contains 2260 Greeks, who speak a strange jargon of modern Greek mixed with a rude dialect of Turkish. The Armenian Bishop of Shebin Kara-Hizar has nine villages with a population of 4800 Armenians.

#### SAWAS

Is 72 miles from Shebin Kara-Hizar; and is the ancient city Sebaste.

#### NAMES OF THE GREEK ARCHBISHOPRICS AND BISHOPRICS THROUGHOUT ANATOLIA.

<i>Provinces.</i>		<i>Residence.</i>
1 Pisidia.	Archbishop.	Adalyah.
2 Philadelphia.	do.	
3 Ephesus.	do.	
4 Eliopolis.	Bishop.	
5 Smyrna.	Archbishop.	
6 Kesiko.	do.	
7 Nice.	do.	Dardanelles.
8 Proosa.	do.	
9 Chalcedony.	do.	
10 Nicomedia.	do.	Ismi.
11 Angoroo. (Galatia.)	do.	Angoroo and
12 Iconium.	do.	Kiutaya
13 Cesarea.	do.	
14 Amasia, (the Euxi- nus Pontus of old.) }	do.	
15 Neo Cesarea, (Nicksar.) }	Archbishop.	Tokat & Oonia.
16 Nikopolis (Shebin Kara-Hizar.) }	Bishop.	
17 Trebison.	Archbishop.	
18 Khaldias.	do.	Gumushkhane.
19 Theodosiopolis (Erzeroom.) }	do.	Erzeroom.

#### INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ARMENIANS.

May 22.—The Armenian Bishop of Shebin Kara-Hizar, Hakobus

by name, called on me. He was born at Sawas, the ancient Sebaste, which is inhabited by 5000 Armenians; it has a Bishop, two churches, twenty Priests, and a monastery, Surp Neshaa. He informs me that at Marsawan, are 2500 Armenians, an Archbishop, and a church, besides the great monastery Astwazazin.

May 23.—The Greeks of the Diocess came from their respective villages, and brought their Bishop various presents, which they delivered into his hands: first bowing to the ground, then kissing his hand, and then bowing again. He gave each of them in return a small cup of brandy, after drinking which, they exclaimed “Χριστός ἀνέστη!” i. e. Christ is risen. They then brought an accusation against one of the parishioners. The Bishop immediately wrote an Anathema against him, which he ordered to be read in the church.

I met to-day many Greeks with Testaments in the Greek language, which had written in them the name of Benjamin Barker of the Bible Society; which proves, that the account given by the enemies of missionary exertions, respecting the distribution of the Bible; alleging, that all the Bibles which are distributed, are either burnt or remain unread, is false. The Archbishop desired me to send him 50 Greco-Turkish Testaments.

#### PRIMATE OF GOROON.

The Primate of the Armenians of Goroon called on me: he informs me, that at Goroon is a church, a Priest, and 5000 Armenians, who acknowledge the authority of the Cathokhikos (Catholicos, General Patriarch) of Sis, whose name is Ephrem, like that of Ech Miazin. But the Cathokhikos of Sis has been obliged to leave that place, and go to Tarsus; for Kujuk Gozan Oglu, a chief of the Curds, who in his mountains defies the Sultan's authority, gave him a great deal of trouble; the Patriarch Ephrem therefore left Sis.

May 24.—Having rubbed my body well with laudanum, the dysentery with which I had been troubled, ceased; and I set out for Trebison, with a worthless country Tatar, who was always drunk. We slept this evening in a Greek village; the poor people were afraid at first, that we came to tax them by order of Government. As my Tatar was of an indifferent character, I got a Greek to accompany me, to whom I gave 200 piastres. I would advise every traveller, always to take a Tatar from Constantinople, and on no account a country Tatar. The name of the village is Trobtshe. I spoke to them in Turkish, about the unsearchable riches of Christ; for though I do not speak Turkish perfectly, I am able to speak about Christ with every sort of people, and to tell them that Christ died for our sins!

May 25.—I arrived at Kara Tatar, belonging to the hospitable Turk Hamed Zadeh Omar Aga, who was very kind.

May 26.—I arrived at Oolu Sheiran. The ruins of many churches show that it was formerly inhabited by many Christians. It is now inhabited by one Armenian family and two Greek.

## ARRIVAL AT GUMUSHKHANE.

*May 27.*—After twelve hours ride, I arrived at Gumushkane, called in Greek Kanion, or Khaldeas. Krekor, the Armenian Bishop, received me very hospitably. He knew the amiable and zealous Rev. Mr. Leeves by reputation. Bishop Krekor is a learned man, but his unmarried state makes him hypochondriacal; he would willingly follow the example of his colleagues Dionysius and Jacob who are married. He approved of the text in Timothy, "A Bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, &c." He wished to travel with me, but I could give him no encouragement. He gave me the names of the following Armenian Archbishops and Bishops.

## ARCHBISHOPS.

<i>Diocess.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Diocess.</i>	<i>Name.</i>
1 Nicomedia (Ismi)	Stephen.	6 Diarbekir	Hoannes.
2 Angoroo	Thadeus.	7 Marsawan	Hakobus.
3 Cesarea in Pamphylia	Hakobus.	8 Moosh	Putrus.
4 Tokat	Kevork.	9 Wan	Makarditsh.
5 Sawas (Sebaste)	Hoannes.	10 Erzeroom	Karapet.*

## BISHOPS.

1 Broosa	Arutyon.	11 Kharput	Arakel.
2 Panderma	Hakobos.	12 Paloo	Khatjatoor.
3 Kiutaya	Karapet.	13 Sason	Hoannes.
4 Janik	Thadeus.	14 Adana	Cathok. Ephrem of Sis.
5 Trebison	} Krekor.	15 Adrianople	Mesrop.
6 Gumush- khane		16 Takirtakh	Arrakel.
7 Shebin Ka- ra-Hizar.	Hakobos.	17 Smyrna	Gabriel.†
8 Arabker	Thadeus.	18 Pason	Karapet.
9 Egin	Hoannes.	19 Kars and Bayazid	Antoon.
10 Orfa	do.		

The diocess of the Armenian Bishop of Gumushkhane contains 1620 Armenians, one monastery, a church, and 5 Priests. Trebison, which is also under his jurisdiction, contains 1900 Armenians, and thirty-five villages with 2500 Armenians.

## CATHOKHIKOS OR GENERAL PATRIARCH OF AHTAMAR.

At Ahtamar is another Bishop, assuming the title of Cathokhikos

\* Now residing at Akhalzikh.

† Formerly Patriarch of Jerusalem.

or Universal Patriarch, whose diocess is very small, while the Patriarch of Sis has the following important places within his diocess.

1 Adana	11 Kilis	21 Albustan
2 Tarsus	12 Antep	22 Marash
3 Mesis	13 Room Kalah	23 Seitoon
4 Lampro	14 Surphas	24 Firnaz
5 Belenk	15 Beshne	25 Hajin
6 Payaz	16 Hassan Mansoor	26 Wakhka
7 Scanderoon	17 Malattia	27 Bozogh
8 Antioch	18 Goroon	28 Debriki
9 Lattachia	19 Derende	
10 Aleppo	20 Ashodi	

A missionary going to these places will do well to take an introductory letter from the Cathekhikos of Sis.

The Armenian Bishop has erected two schools: one at Gumushkhane, containing 60 children; the other at Trebison, containing 120 children. He desired me to recommend him to the British and Foreign Bible Society, that he might procure 100 Armenian Bibles, gratis. He tells me, that the strictness of their fast days induces many to turn Catholics; the same reason was assigned by the Syrians, Chaldeans, and Greeks for many persons of their communities embracing the Roman Catholic creed.

#### CONVENTS OF THE ARMENIANS.

The British and Foreign Bible Society would do well to furnish the following convents of the Armenians with Bibles. Ech Miazin, near Erivan. Surp\* Hakobus, at Jerusalem. Surp Karapet, at Moosh. Astwazazin, at Angora. Surp Khatsh,† at Sawas. Armash Astwazazin, at Ismit. Surp Karapet, at Cesarea. Surp Hoannes, at Armatol. Surp Khatsh, at Parakhoo. Surp Khatsh, at Akhpat.

Missionaries labouring among the Armenians ought to know the learned and distinguished men, now existing among them. The following are some of their names.

Tirazo Takwor	Andreas Wardapet
Peshtemalse Oglu	Petros Wardapet
Hodawerdè	Bartholomeos Wardapet
Tirazu Hakob Mariebyan	Bogos (Paul)

All these except the last mentioned, are at Constantinople. Bogos, formerly Patriarch of Constantinople, is a very clever, prudent and sagacious man. There are also, Keork, Episcopos at Tokat. Hakob, Bishop at Marsuwan. Hoannes, Bishop at Egin. Kirkor Wardapet at Trebison. Michael Wardapet at Moscow. Nerses, formerly Archbishop of Tiflis, now exiled to Bessarabia. Tirazu Serope at Nakhtshawan. Serope, Archbishop at Astrachan.

#### GREEKS AT GUMUSHKHANE.

There are at Gumushkhane ten Greek Priests and an Archbishop,

\* Surp signifies Holy.

† Surp Khatsh, Holy Cross.



who is now at Capan Madan, where he has 5000 Greeks to superintend; his name is Theophilos.

Gregorios Demetrios Santoropolis, a Greek Priest, called on me, and requested to have some Greek Testaments and tracts.

Poskowiz Canaris, an emissary of the Greek Secret Society for effecting the revolution, came to Gumushkhane, five years ago, for the purpose of effecting a revolution among the Greeks, in the villages round Gumushkhane and Trebison.

*May 29.*—I conversed with the Armenian Bishop, and Greek Priest Santoropolis, about the conversion of the Jews; for I think it is very necessary to make these people acquainted with the exertions that real Christians are making for the general promulgation of the Gospel. Santoropolis asserted, that all the Children of Israel will be converted, with the exception of some tribes; this he endeavoured to prove in a curious manner by Ezekiel xxi. 12, 13. Jeremiah ii. 9. Apoc. ii. 9. Genesis xxxv. 23. I examined the Armenian Bible, and found that in Daniel viii. 14, there is the number 2068, whereas in our version it is 2300.

#### DEPARTURE FROM GUMUSHKHANE.

*May 30.*—I left Gumushkhane for Trebison. On the road I met with a very singular sort of man: he was dressed like a European, and was stretched out in the fields, near a fire, with a caravan of Turks, coming from Trebison, and going to Erzeroom; he spoke French and Persian. I asked him who he was, whence he came, and where he intended to go. He is the Gil Blas of the Armenians, Artemis by name, from Ech Miazin, coming from Russia, and going to India; he has written an account of his life and travels, in which he gives a very interesting account of the manners and customs of his nation.

*May 31.*—I arrived at Trebison, and took up my abode at the house of Mr. Brant, the British Vice Consul, who received me with the greatest kindness. The day following I preached in the Consulate, and conversed with Mr. Brant about the Millennium.

*June 2.*—I called on the Greek Archbishop Constantios, he informed me, that there are at Trebison 2000 Greeks, ten churches and thirteen Priests. There are twenty villages belonging to it, in which are 3000 Greeks, and four monasteries. They are greatly oppressed by Omar Aga and Osman Aga Hypoglu.

*June 3.*—I called on His Excellency Osman Pasha, of Trebison; accompanied by Serpos, the Dragoman of Mr. Brant. The Sultan styles this Pasha *his Dervish*. He sent for two Dervishes, with whom I spoke in Persian and Arabic. His Excellency gave me letters of introduction to the Pasha of Erzeroom. Osman Pasha is devoted to the Sultan, and is a man of devout principles according to his Sect; and, as I am informed, a good General. Mr. Brant is a kind hearted, open, intelligent gentleman; he pressed me to stay with him until my health was restored.

I met again with the Dervish Youssuf. No razor has passed over his head. The ancient forms and usages of the holy men of the East have remained, but their spirit has departed.

Signor Gheresi, the Sardinian Consul, advised me to go to Makariev, under the government of Nichney Novgorod, and from thence to Bokhara; for there is a great fair held every year at Makariev, at which are many persons from Bokhara.

## HAMSHOON

Is a village, a few hours from Trebison, where the inhabitants were Armenians, but have turned Mohammedans.

Kroom, where Greeks have also turned Mohammedans. There are besides these, Greeks at Trebison, who outwardly profess the Mohammedan religion, but are Christians in secret.

*June 8.*—I left Trebison with a Tatar, a good for nothing fellow. Arrived in the evening at Turakapan, 27 miles from Trebison.

*June 9.*—Returned to Gumushkhane. Youssuf Pasha, a Pasha with two Tails, sent for me, to converse with him. I spoke to him about Christ. In the evening I arrived at Tekka, 39 miles from Turakapan.

*June 10.*—Arrived at Baiboot, 42 miles from Gumushkhane, inhabited by 5000 Turks and 300 Armenians. Previous to the war with Russia, the Armenians amounted to 4000; but afterwards they emigrated with General Paskewitsh to Akhalzikh. The inhabitants of Baiboot fought most desperately against the Russians in the late war.

*June 11.*—Arrived at Ashgala, formerly inhabited by 300 Armenians, who emigrated with Paskewitsh to Akhalzikh. I found only one family here. From this place I arrived the same day at Klise, a place with a hot spring, inhabited before the war with Russia, by 300 Armenian families; there are now only ten, the rest followed the common example of their countrymen.

## ARRIVAL AT ERZERROOM.

*June 12.*—I arrived at Erzerroom, and was kindly received by Mr. Zohrab; soon after, Sir Henry Willock and Major Willock called on me, and gave me some medicine; for I was very unwell; they had just arrived from India. I was informed by Mr. Zohrab, that 97000 Armenians had emigrated with General Paskewitsh, from Erzerroom and the neighbouring countries; first to Lori, then to Akhalzikh. When the Russians came to Erzerroom, the Armenians poured out their vengeance against the Turks, for all they had suffered from them in former times. When the Russians retired, Paskewitsh told them, he was apprehensive, if they remained, that the Turks would fall again upon them; moreover, this shrewd General through his influence with their Bishop, induced the whole Armenian and Greek population to emigrate with him, except 48 Armenian Catholics, and 100 Armenians, who remained at Erzerroom.

*June 14.*—I called on His Excellency, the Pasha Mohammed Asad, who speaks Persian very well. I met here likewise with Captain Woynikoff, a Russian Commissary, who came to sell the houses of the Armenians who had emigrated. There were in this

place 17000 Armenians before the invasion of the Russians. The ancient name of Erzeroom is in Armenian, Garim. Having no inducement to stay longer at Erzeroom, I left this place the same day, and arrived at Hussein Kale, 18 miles from Erzeroom. Here I met with Major Wilson, late Resident at Busheer, and Mr. Wilson, brother of Mrs. M'Neill in Persia: he requested me to go back with him to Erzeroom, which I did. He delivered to me the following letter of Dr. M'Neill from Persia.

*Tabreez, May 25, 1831.*

My dear sir,

I have just heard, that we may expect the pleasure of seeing you once more in Persia: and as my friend Major Wilson, who has for some years been Resident in the Persian Gulf, is about to set out on his way to Trebizond; I thought it would be a gratification for you both to meet on the road, and that a few lines to save the formality of an introduction without them, would be acceptable to you as well as to him.

Your friends here will be very glad to see you again, and amongst them none will be more rejoiced, than, my dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN M'NEILL.

*June 19.*—I set out again for Bayazid, and on the following day arrived at Dehar.

*June 23.*—I arrived at the Armenian convent Utshkelesea, i. e. Three Churches; the same name by which Ech Miazin is also called. Utshkelesea was built by Turtat, King of Armenia, after he was baptized by Gregorius Lusaworitsh, or the Enlightener. I here met with five Monks, and one Khalifa, i. e. Superior, whose name is Kalust; he is nominated by the Cathokhikos of Ech Miazin. Felizian Zarembo, the dear and excellent missionary, whom I met with at Shooshe in Karabagh, and is frequently mentioned in my travels to Persia, distributed Bibles and tracts here. The Armenian name of the Convent is Surp Hoannes, (Holy John) and the name of the place is Titz-Wan: the province is called Pakrewan. Gregorius Lusaworitsh baptized here in the third century 124,000 persons. The Priests are very ill treated by some Curdish Chiefs.

Ten thousand families of Armenians emigrated from the neighbouring places; say, Bayazid, Diordeen, Nahya, Alashkia, Khamura, and Tutawaz. Old men, and poor people only, who had nothing to lose, remained behind.

#### YESEEDEE.

At Kara-Bulagh, 12 hours from the convent Utsh-Kelesea, are Yeseedee, worshippers of the Devil. They divide themselves in Mesopotamia, into five sects; viz. Danadea, Mamusea, Darea, Khaldea, Sanjaar. Besides the Turkish and Curdish, they speak a language (as Artemis asserts) only known to themselves. Their Priests, who are called Meshayikh, transmit their secret knowledge from father to son. In taking an oath, and on many other

occasions, they cross themselves; with this difference only from the Christians of Mesopotamia, that they fold their hands, raising only the middle fingers, which they place one against the other. When they drink red wine, they raise the glass with both hands: asserting, that the wine is the blood of Christ, and if a drop of it falls upon the ground, they lick it up with their tongues. They are very hospitable, and have a great veneration for the Devil, to whom they pray once a year in the night time; which night is called "Lailat Almehya," or Night of Life. They call him Sagheer, i. e. the "Little One," or "Little God;" at enmity with God now, but who will be restored to his former dignity and honour. If any person draws a circle round a Yeseedee, he will remain in it till he dies, unless some one erases it.\* They lament their dead forty days, sitting all that time on the ground. In commemoration of the three days of repentance of the Ninevites, they sit three days on the ground, and even deny suck to their infants during that time. They believe, that after death the soul enters the body of another; they therefore kill people with little scruple. Hussein Tamboolan is their great Prince upon the mountain of Sanjaar, between Mardeen and Mosool, in Mesopotamia, and Ali in the city of Baatri, near Mosool. They dance every year around the ruins of ancient Babylon, and thus is fulfilled the prophecy, that people belonging to the Devil, (in the English version translated Satyrs) שַׁעֲרִים, in Arabic, *Witch or Magician*, shall dance there! Isaiah xiii. 21.

Near Utsh-Kelesea and Bayazid are two convents: their names are Mezob Astwaz-Azin, and Tatus Arakel, the burial place of the Apostle Thadeus. At Utsh-Kelesea, the river Euphrates flows; the name of the river in Turkish is Murad. Being very unwell, I took with me an Armenian Priest to Tabreez.

#### PERSIAN SETTLEMENTS.

I met with Persian settlements all round Bayazid; for many of the Persians, who inhabited Erivan, left that town as soon as it was taken by the Russians.

June 24.—I left Utsh-Kelesea, and arrived at Bayazid, (in Armenian called Tarusnek, or Kokowid.) It is a Pashalick of two Tails; the office is hereditary. Balool, the present Pasha, resides in a most splendid edifice, built by his grandfather; he was very kind to me; but his power is very limited, being surrounded by a rebellious tribe of Curds. Previous to the emigration, there were 10,000 Armenians here: at present there are not 150 families. There are two Priests, very illiterate, and the Armenians themselves are of the lowest description.

June 25.—I had informed Sir John Campbell of the ill state of my health, when I set out for Astara, near Tabreez, with my Armenian Priest, and a soldier of the Pasha. As it began to rain, we stopt in the tents of the Curds, Gozi-Kara, where I met with

\* This latter observation is found in the book of Artemis.



an old Dervish from Bokhara, who spoke Persian, so that, by divine assistance, I was enabled to preach to him the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. He was by far the most intelligent Dervish I ever met with; I spoke with him on the subject of prayer. The following is the substance of our conversation.

*Dervish.* Whilst I am speaking with you, I am in the presence of God. God created the light, of which he formed the angels, and the heavens, and the earth, paradise and hell. Of that light he created the light of the Prophets, of the light of the Prophets he created the light of the Dervishes, and of the light of the Dervishes he created the light of Islam, and of that of Islam he created the light of the Kufar, i. e. Christians, Jews and Pagans.

*Myself.* What will become of this world?

*D.* The world will become so good, that the lamb and the wolf shall feed together, and there shall be general peace and fear of God upon the earth; there shall be no controversy about religion, all shall know God truly; there shall be no hatred.

*M.* Who then shall govern upon earth?

*D.* Jesus.

*M.* How many years shall Jesus be King?

*D.* Thirty-six years.

*M.* How do you know this?

*D.* From the Hadees (traditional accounts.)

*M.* What do you think of Christians?

*D.* If you wish to have the sentiments of the Koran, they are infidels. If you wish to have my own opinion, I can only say, that we are all images of God; more I cannot tell you!

*M.* Who was the first Dervish?

*D.* Mohammed Abd-al-Ali.

He continued, "Khaikus Avdal, a Dervish, wrote a book, in which he said, 'Know thyself, and thou wilt know God.'" I asked his opinion concerning those Dervishes who go about playing the fool, and are called Loote. He replied, "Some of them are drunk with the love of God, others are imposters."

There are two extremes of opinion, prevailing among the divines and philosophers of Europe: some assert, that no light whatever is to be found among people, who are not Christians. This is certainly not the case. Others again, like the mystical Philosophers of Germany, imagine, that more light is to be found among the Soffees and Dervishes of Persia, than even in our Sacred Writings; which is a grievous error. But one thing is certain, that more light is to be found among Dervishes, than among the most learned Neologists and infidels in Europe.

*June 26.*—I arrived at Awajik, which is in the Persian territory, belonging to Jaafar Khan, who had left Erivan when the Russians took possession of it. We stopt a few hours, and then rode on to the tents of the Curd, Sharaf Oglu Kasem Sultan, who, in order to get rid of us, told us we had only three hours to Karainé. We left that inhospitable Curd, and went on towards Karainé; but as that place was eighteen miles distant, we stopt at Agha Deeza, in



the house of a poor Armenian, who had fled from Wan, (called in Armenian, Dosp) on account of the tyranny of Tamur Pasha, in order to settle at Erivan; but on arriving on Persian territory, he was stopt, and ordered to settle there. Poor disappointed people! Before the war with the Russians, three hundred families of Persians resided in this place, now there are only three families.

#### NERSES OF TIFLIS.

I was informed that the amiable Archbishop Nerses, the greatest man of the Armenian nation, and the founder of an Armenian Academy at Tiflis, had been exiled to Bessarabia.

A Protestant missionary of liberal sentiments, must have observed in Archbishop Nerses, a man as full of the spirit of the Gospel, as any Protestant clergyman in England. In the schools established by him, religious instruction was introduced. How often did the dear man, eight years ago, tell me, "My great object is, to revive among my countrymen the spirit of Gregory Lusavoritsh." He did not cant on the subject of religion, he was truly in earnest.

*June 27.*—We arrived at Karainé, and went to Ali Sheikh, where we lodged again with Armenians.

*June 29.*—We met with an Armenian caravan; they were well informed people. They repeated to me the history I had often heard, of the conversion of their King Turtat, by Gregory Lusavoritsh, in the third century. Turtat died at Erzangan, called in Armenian, Turan Aghe, and was buried at Hokoz-Wank, near Wan, in the province of Hawaz-Zor.

The Apostle Bartholomew is buried at Albak, (called in Armenian, Arebanos) near Salmast.

The Apostle Thadeus is buried at Tatus Arakel, near Shawarshan, (in Turkish, Babajuk) near Karainé, ten hours from Khoy. Hayk, the son of Togarmah, mentioned in Genesis x. was the founder of the Armenian nation, and is buried at Hark, near Manasgerd and Moosh. I proclaimed Jesus Christ to the soldier who accompanied me from Bayazid. The Armenian Priest got bold, and spoke to the soldier about the letter, which Abgar, King of Orfa, wrote to our Lord Jesus Christ, and said that our Lord sent his picture to Abgar.

#### ARRIVAL AT KHOY.

*June 29.*—We arrived at Khoy, inhabited by twenty thousands of Persians and Turks. Most of the Armenians who were here, are gone to Erivan, and those who remained behind have ceased to be hospitable, as they are no longer oppressed by the Persians, for fear of their removing to Erivan. We met with very unkind treatment; a drunken Armenian actually flogged our Wardapet, (Priest) and tore out his beard. I asked for a little rice boiled in water, which they refused to let me have even for money, saying, that they were now no longer afraid of the Persians. Slaves suddenly freed, will generally act in this manner: I found it to be the

case with the Armenians at New Nakhtshawan in Russia, and the Greeks in the Krimea, when I travelled in those countries.

#### VISIT TO THE PRINCE OF KHOY.

I called on His Royal Highness, the Prince Governor of Khoy, Jehaan Geer Zadah. He is the son of Abbas Mirza. He himself, and those of his Court knew me, when I travelled in Persia and Oormia. Mirza Reza, a Persian, who has been at Woolwich, gave me a lodging in his house, and invited all the principal Mullahs and Courtiers to meet me. I had the following conversation with one of the Mullahs, whose name was *Hussein*.

*Mullah*. Are you an Isawee (Christian)?

*I*. By the grace of God.

*M*. And I am a Mussulman, by the grace of God.

*I*. Prove to me your religion to be true.

*M*. My religion is founded on the four books, viz. the Bible, the Gospel, the Psalter of David, and the Koran.

*I*. I deny that your religion is founded on the three first mentioned books.

*M*. Do you call Jesus the Son of God?

*I*. I do; for the Bible and the Gospel call him thus.

*M*. We are all sons of God.

*I*. Then you admit that the word *Son* may have different meanings. Jesus is called the Son of God, for the fulness of the God-head dwelt in him bodily.

*M*. How can he be God, and the Son of God?

*I*. He is God from eternity; as regarding the Divinity being united to humanity, he is the Son of God; but how it is, I cannot explain, but believe it on the authority of Divine Revelation, which cannot err.

There were present at this discussion, Haje Hatem Khan, Khoda Dad Goorgestane, and Haje Fateh Ali Beyk.

At this place I was informed, that at Oormia the plague was raging. I had visited Oormia six years before, and conversed with Nestorians, Jews and Persians.

#### SOLEIMAN PASHA.

Soleiman Pasha, a relation of the King of Persia, called on me; he is well acquainted with the New Testament, and is a *Farmason* (Freemason); he said that Freemasonry was to be found in the fourth chapter of the Revelations of St. John.

#### DEATH OF HUSSEIN.

The death of Hussein, the son of Ali, who was killed by Yazid, the son of Moawia, is commemorated this month by all the Persians, who bear his name: all those who are called Hussein, put on mourning.

July 3.—A taht-ruan\* of Mr. McNeill's arrived, to take me to

\* Taht-ruan is a kind of chair carried by horses. *Taht*, a chair; *ruan*, walking.

Tabreez, with the following letters of Sir John Campbell and Dr. M'Neill.

My dear sir,

I have this morning had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 24th instant, by my Gholam; and whilst I regret your serious indisposition, fondly cherish a hope, that it may with care and attention have decreased, if not altogether vanished.

Our carriage we have not here, owing to the badness of the roads, which will not admit of the passage of a wheel conveyance to our present encampment, where we have been obliged to resort from the prevalence of plague in the city of Tabreez. Mrs. Campbell's Taht-ruan is also built upon a principle new in these parts; Mr. M'Neill therefore sends you his, to which I have attached two of my mules, with two spare ones in case of accidents. His servant also, Ali Mohammed, will accompany it, as he understands the country, and speaks a little English, and from his practice in pharmacy, is well calculated to administer certain sedatives, which may be of benefit to you, and with which he is provided with instructions regarding them. Ali Mohammed will also deliver to you twenty ducats under seal; your letter only states ten tomauns, but the Gholam mentions 20 ducats. Should any accident have befallen your funds, before your arrival at Khoy, and that the present supply should not prove sufficient, any merchant will furnish you with what may be required, for a draft upon me.

In the hope that your melancholy forebodings may prove imaginary, and that we may soon have the pleasure of seeing you here, where a tent will be ready for your reception,

Believe me, my dear sir,

*Camp at Astara,*

Yours truly,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

*June 29th 1831.*

P. S. The Taht starts early to-morrow morning, and Ali Mohammed is directed to bring you straight here, instead of going by Tabreez, which in the present state of sickness there, would not be prudent.

*Camp near Tabreez, June 29, 1831.*

My dear Wolff,

I this morning received your letter from the vicinity of Bayazeed, and was much shocked and distressed to find that you were so unwell; I trust however that your ailments are not so very serious as you seem to apprehend, and that we shall soon have the great pleasure of seeing you amongst us. Mrs. Campbell is in a state of health so delicate, as to make it impossible for me to leave her at present; and as the plague prevails at this moment in Tabreez, Cormick is fully occupied in attending to his professional duties, with the Prince Royal's family. Neither of us, therefore, could abandon our posts without a dereliction of public duty. The serjeants are employed with the Prince's army at Kerman, and there is no Englishman available, who could be of any use to you. I have therefore sent my confidential servant, Ali Mohammed, who

has been with me for above ten years, and who, as he speaks English, Persian and Turkish, will perhaps be more useful than a European. I give him some simple medicines, with directions, how and when to give them to you, which he can comprehend, as he has been a good deal employed by me in that way. Captain Campbell's carriage could not have gone to Khoy for you, the road not admitting of it; but he has given us the use of his mules, and Mrs. M'Neill has sent you her Taht-ruan, which is better adapted to these roads than any wheeled conveyance. Should you require to be bled, you may apply with perfect safety to any Persian barber, as they have all much practice in that way. Ali Mohammed will remain with you, and conduct you to us; he will go on to prepare a place for you, procure, and if necessary, prepare what you should eat, which should be confined to soup, rice and tea. He will obey your directions in every thing, and I hope prove useful to you; he is a good hearted man, and will not think it any trouble to do what he can for you; besides, he has my very special injunctions, and I think he will acquit himself creditably. I have desired him to go on till he finds you, and a letter has been written to the Prince Governor of Khoy, requesting that he will afford you every facility. We are pleasantly situated in tents; the air is cool and pleasant, and there is no disease in our vicinity; I therefore do hope, that a few days of rest and good nursing, will restore you to health. I shall go out to meet you, if I find I can do so with propriety; but this is uncertain. Mrs. M'Neill desires her kindest remembrances to you, and I remain

My dear Wolff, very sincerely yours,  
JOHN M'NEILL.

*July 5.*—I arrived at Sayd Hajee; its inhabitants are of the family of Mohammed.

*July 6.*—I arrived at the camp of Astara, where Sir John Campbell, and Dr. M'Neill had pitched their tents, on account of the plague, which was raging terribly at Tabreez, and all along to Teheran and Khorossaun. My old friend M'Neill came out to meet me, and delivered me a packet of letters from Malta, which set my mind at ease. I was received by these gentlemen with great kindness.

Dr. M'Neill gave the following particulars of the late war between Persia and Russia. The Persian army was entirely defeated. Fatullah Shah was abandoned by the Governors of the Province of Aderbijan, and the Governors of the other provinces corresponded with Russia; there was not one of his servants on whom he could place any reliance. General Rosen had already received orders from Paskewitsh, to march towards Teheraun; if he had arrived there, the Persians would have killed their King, and taken possession of the royal treasure. No person dared make the King acquainted with the danger impending over his head. Mirza Abd Alhassan Khan, and Mirza Abdalwohab, (a man of great talents, formerly my friend) his ministers, saw the critical and dangerous situation of their Royal Master, but dared not approach the throne

to make known to the King the real state of things. They desired Dr. M'Neill to do it. When he entered the royal presence, Fatullah Shah was sitting in a small room, with his head leaning upon his knees. His countenance betrayed deep sorrow: he was absorbed in gloomy thoughts. "I know," said he, "my government is gone, the Dynasty of Fatullah Shah is gone. I did not want war with Russia: the Mullahs, the Mullahs, (i. e. the Clergy,) brought me into it."

*M'Neill.* It is not quite so bad, you can save yourself by giving money to the Russians.

*King.* How much do they want?

*M. N.* Seven millions and a half of Tomauns.

*K.* I have not the money.

*M. N.* Give jewels or territory.

Dr. M'Neill was charged with the delivery of the money, and the business was arranged. Dr. M'Neill received a beautiful snuff-box from Nicolas. During this time, Abbas Mirza, the Prince Royal, and Shah presumptive, was wandering about in the mountains, with only a few of his faithful servants; a fugitive in the land over which he governed a short time before; without money, and without food. Being informed of the arrival of the Russians at Tabreez, his natural cheerfulness did not forsake him. "Pedr suhte,\* (let their father be burnt) let them take money," said he smiling, "and go their way. They know, that they can take the country whenever they please." Dr. M'Neill is a very able man, he is a Politician, an Historian, a good Physician, and not ignorant in Divinity. He explained Hebrews vii. 1—3, "For this Melchisedek, &c. without father, without mother, &c." in the following manner: The Dervishes in Persia say, they have neither father or mother, for they had forsaken all for the Lord's sake.†

*July 10th.*—I preached and performed Divine Service in the British Embassy, before Sir John Campbell, Lady Campbell, Dr. and Mrs. M'Neill, Captain M'Donald and other English persons.

Tobias was directed by Azarias, to preserve the gall of the fish they caught on the banks of the Tigris, which he is told, is a good remedy for blindness, and with this remedy the sight of Tobit was afterwards restored. Tobit vi. The gall of animals, Mr. M'Neill says, is a common remedy for that description of blindness, which so commonly follows inflammations of the surface of the eye, and which consists in a disorder and opaqueness of the clear part of the eye.

During my stay, Sir John Campbell wrote to the King of Persia for letters of introduction to the King of Bokhara.

*July 29.*—I went with Captain M'Donald and Mons. Alexander Gwostoff, Secretary to the Russian Embassy, to Beera, three

\* This is a common expression among the Persians, when they are angry.

† Dr. M'Neill is the most able man of all the British residents in Persia.



hours distant from our Camp, to see my old friend Dr. Cormick, English Physician to Abbas Mirza. On our arrival at Dr. Cormick's tent, Malek Kasem Mirza, the King's son, who was Prince Governor of Oormia, in the year 1825, entered the tent for the purpose of paying me a visit. Capt. M'Donald and myself remained standing, until His Royal Highness asked us to sit down.

The Prince is now in the back ground, on account of his not agreeing with the present Kayem Mekaam, (Prime Minister) of Abbas Mirza. The Prince offered to give me letters of introduction to his brothers in Khorossaun.

A Loote (privileged madman) was at this time going about Tabreez, with a dagger; he had already killed two persons and broken into several houses. The present Governor at Tabreez gave orders to take him up. The Police reported, that it was not possible, for he always kept a sharp dagger in his hand. The Prince replied, "Watch him until he sleeps, and then take the dagger from him."

I called with Dr. Cormick on Mons. Bisack, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, by whom we were kindly and hospitably treated. I conversed with them about our Lord Jesus Christ. They spoke kindly of my brethren Zarembo and Dittrich, Missionaries at Shoosha, and Mr. Pfander, also a Missionary.

The Persians of Tabreez consider it a great enjoyment, to stand in the rain and drink wine at the same time.

Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, jealous of my journey to Bokhara, thought proper to contradict my assertion, that I had always in my travels avowed myself to be an Englishman and a Christian Preacher. I forgive the young man, but I feel it my duty to insert the following document, which proves *the falsehood of his statement.*

*Letter from Khosroe Khan, Chief Eunuch to His Majesty the King of Persia.*

My esteemed and kind friend, the ENGLISH PRIEST Joseph Wolff.

The letter, the messenger of friendship, which in remembrance of your friend, you had written, reached me at the favourable time and in the happy hour; and gave me intelligence of the welfare of my friend. As for some years there have been symptoms of disease in Persia, and as I had no intelligence as to where you might be, the receipt of your letter gives me the sincerest pleasure. Thank God, your epistle promises, at no great distance of time, the blessings of a meeting.

Regarding your journey to Bokhara, and your desire, that I should write to my friends, this is a small request; you cannot doubt, that I and my friends will consider your step as fortunate; and that in fulfilling the duties of friendship, they will act without reluctance or reserve.

According to your desire, at this time, when we were despatching a Cossid (Messenger) to Meshed, we have written an intimation to each of our friends, on this subject, that stage by stage, they should send their Agents with you, till they shall have conveyed you to Bokhara. God willing, after your arrival at the

Capital, I shall send a man to convey you to Semnan, and from thence H. R. H. Bahman Mirza, will forward you to Juwein; and from thence, Alee Moorad Khan, to Sabzewar; and from thence Mohammed Tuckey Khan, the Governor of that place, will forward you, stage by stage, till you arrive at the Holy Meshed; and if from the Holy city you should desire to go direct to Bokhara, I have written a letter to His Excellency Mirza Askeree, that he may forward you with some merchants and a caravan, so that you may reach Bokhara in safety: and if you should wish to go to Kelat, a letter has been written to Yelantoosh Khan, the Governor of Kelat, that he may send you with Turkomans to Bokhara. Please God, after your arrival in the Capital, matters shall be arranged in whatever manner may be most agreeable to you; of this you may rest satisfied. May you always convey to us pleasing intelligence of your circumstances. Here is a merchant, who will go direct from Teheran to Bokhara, but before you can arrive here, he will have returned from Kashaan, and will be at your service to convey you to Bokhara. These are the arrangements, and when we meet, whichever plan you may adopt, it shall be ordered accordingly. Give my friendly regards to Captain Campbell, and Mr. McNeill. I am much obliged to you for the accounts you have given of them. I hope one day to have the pleasure of conversing with them. I thank God, that they are in good spirits and free from sorrow.

(Signed)

KHOSROE KATMEZ.

Dr. McNeill was so kind as to translate the above; he frequently did me the favour to copy and translate.

I shall hereafter give some other letters, which will prove the falsity of the statements before alluded to.

#### ADERBIJAN.

There are no Jews in Aderbijan, at Tabreez, or in the villages round, nor even at Khoy, until you come to Salmast, Khosrowa and Oormia; of which places I have spoken in the third volume of my Journals. The reason alleged, why there are no Jews in Aderbijan, is as follows; (but I must observe that the accusation is false.) A Mohammedan child was one day missing, and after a strict search, it was found that some Jews had killed it and drank its blood. This calumny, alas! which is believed in some Christian countries, is spread by vile renegadoes, who left the Jewish and embraced the Mohammedan Religion. It is strange that such a lie should be believed by any one; but I found narrow minded missionaries who observed, that of a nation, who crucified the Lord of Glory, any thing may be believed!

#### DEPARTURE FROM ASTARA NEAR TABREEZ.

*August 7.*—I preached for the last time in the tent of Sir John Campbell, and then went to the tent of Dr. Cormick, to take leave of him.

His Royal Highness Malek Kasem Mirza, in sending me the

promised letters of introduction, wrote me a letter in French as follows:

*Sivan, Hejira ai 1246.*

Monsieur,

Comme je sais que les recommandations peuvent vous être utile, je joint a celle du Hamed Ali Mirza, une pour un de mes autres frères, le Prince Gouverneur de Bustan, Bahaman Mirza.

Je crois, que de passer a mon camp ne dérange pas votre chemin; si cela est, j'aurais, Monsieur, le plus grand plaisir de vous voir. J'ai aimé à écrire à mon frère de ma propre main, à qui vous serez agréable. Je vous souhaite, Monsieur, un bon voyage.

(Signed)

MELEK CASSUM MERZA.

A Monsieur Wolff à Bira.

#### JEWS IN CURDISTAN.

In the second and third volumes of my journals, I treated at large of the Jews at Salmast, Sheeras, Cashan, and Ispahan. I have only to observe, that around Hamadan, the following places are inhabited by Jews, who are in possession of all the books of the Old Testament, as are also the Jews throughout Persia.

Hamadan 150 families. Tusurgan 40. Nawand 40. Khor-mabad 50. Ulgud 20. Kermanschah 20. Senaa 150. Garooz 50. Sakaz 50. Banaa 50. Soleimanea 200. Karadagh 200. Halabyar 20. Khorombar 20. Penjeweene 20. Total 1080 families, or 5400 souls.

It is also striking to find even in Curdistan Jews of learning, i. e. in their Talmudical writings. These Jews and those in Persia read the Hebrew in a most sonorous manner. They are full of traditional accounts, which they do not however like to communicate to Christians or Mohammedans. They are not half so demoralized as the Armenians in Curdistan.

According to Jew Nisim, from Salmast, the Jews of Tcheran, and the Rabbi Shlome from Hamadan, whom I met at Teheran, the Jews settled in Persia and Curdistan during the captivity of Babylon. Their names corroborate the truth of their account, that many of them had returned to Jerusalem with Nehemiah; but their descendants, after this, came back to Persia. This they shew in a very plausible way; viz. that there are families in Persia, whose names are of later date, and are to be found among the Jews in Palestine; as for instance, the name Nisim is to be found even now in Persia, and there is a family called Nisim at Jerusalem; there are Jews called Succoth, in Teheran, and there are families of that name at Jerusalem. They are in possession of the same traditional accounts respecting the Ten Tribes, as the Jews all over the world. In the year 1826, at Salmast and at Oormia, I spoke Hebrew and Chaldean with them. Some of the Jews mix the Hebrew with Turkish and Chaldean; but several of their Rabbies, who came from the neighbouring places, spoke Hebrew very well.

Mullah Israel, at Sheeras, is a man, who feels deeply the corruption of the human heart, and the incapability of doing any thing in order to obtain Salvation, without the grace of God.

The Jews of Curdistan, and throughout Persia, are frequently solicited by the Mussulmans to write talismans or kemmeea, as the Jews call them. The Jews then scratch something upon paper, and tell the Mussulmans that it is Hebrew; it being in fact no language whatever. The Jewesses of Curdistan are chaste; but those of Persia, especially those of Sheeras, Ispahan and Cashan, are very dissolute characters. The Jews in Persia and Curdistan, who have turned to the Mohammedan religion, say, that Mohammed is mentioned in Genesis xvii. 20. "I will multiply him *exceedingly*." This they prove by adding the numerical value of the Hebrew letters in the following manner. 'Exceedingly,' is in Hebrew, מְאֹד בְּמֶאֱדָה. Mohammed, is spelt, מֶחְמֵד.

כ	.	.	is	.	.	2	מ	.	.	is	.	.	40
מ	.	.	is	.	.	40	ה	.	.	is	.	.	8
א	.	.	is	.	.	1	ט	.	.	is	.	.	40
ד	.	.	is	.	.	4	ך	.	.	is	.	.	4
ט	.	.	is	.	.	40							92
א	.	.	is	.	.	1							
ד	.	.	is	.	.	4							
						92							

The Mohammedans in Sheeras, Ispahan and Teheran, will tell the opponent, that the name of Mohammed in the Bible is, *Bimadmad* (בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד;) and even Jews, not turned to Mohammedanism, will from fear confirm it in their conversation with Mohammedans. I shall speak more hereafter of the Jews in Persia. I have in my former journal spoken of the Jews of Mesopotamia, at and around Merdeen and Bagdad.

Aug. 8.—I rode on to the tents of the Russian Embassy. Mons. Bisack, the Russian Chargé d’Affaires, was so kind as to give me a letter of recommendation to the Russian Authorities, in the event of my meeting them.

Mons. Chodzko, a Pole, and attached to the Russian Embassy, was much interested in the study of Prophecy: he was concerned to know what shall become of his country. I told him, that God had sent forth a spirit of revolution into the world, to punish the Kings and the people, in order to teach both to look up to Him; and those awful times of rebellion, radicalism and irreligion, shall last, until Kings and People shall look up to the Lord Jesus Christ. Mons. Chodzko informed me, that Mr. Oleszkiewicz, a painter in Petersburg, was deeply engaged in the study of Prophecy. Mons. Chodzko was much interested in the religious conversation he had with Mr. Pfander, the only Protestant who has in later times travelled in Persia and Mesopotamia, as a true missionary; he is not a mere compiler of observations, from books already printed.

After breakfast I set out for Sydadab. Mons. Gwostoff accompanied me a few miles. Sydadab is 28 miles from Tabreez. I rode on the same day to Dekmetash, 28 miles from Sydadab.

Aug. 9.—I arrived at Turkomanja, which place I could not enter on account of the plague. I continued my journey to Myanah; here also the plague was raging.



*Aug. 10.*—I arrived at Guldapah, 24 miles from Myanah; as the plague was here also, I continued my journey to Sanjaan.

*Aug. 11.*—I arrived at Sultaneah, 28 miles from Sanjaan. This place was entirely deserted, on account of the plague. I went 28 miles further, and arrived at Syadehan.

*Aug. 13.*—I came to Safar Khoja, a distance of 48 miles.

*Aug. 14.*—Arrived at Solemanea, 32 miles further.

#### ARRIVAL AT TEHERAN, THE CAPITAL OF PERSIA.

*Aug. 15.*—I arrived at Teheran, 24 miles from Solemanea, and having a letter from Sir John, (at that time Mr.) Campbell to the housekeeper of the palace of the British Ambassador, a room was given me in the palace. Mullah Bahraam, a Parsee, the agent of Mr. Campbell, came immediately to visit me, and gave notice of my arrival to Khosroe Khan, one of the King's chief Eunuchs and Ministers, and to Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan, the Vizier to the Prince Governor of Teheran, who has the title of *Sille Sultan*, i. e. Shadow of the King. Khosroe Khan instantly came to me with his friends Mirza Mohammed Monshee Bashe, and another Persian. I entered into conversation about our Lord Jesus Christ.

*Khosroe Khan.* What ought one to do, after one has sinned, in order to be reconciled with God?

*Myself.* "The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin,—believe in him, and thou shalt be saved." I translated to him Isaiah liii. and after this I spoke to him of the judgments which were coming upon the Powers of Europe and Asia. I then spoke of the second coming of Jesus Christ upon earth, in glory and majesty, and of his millennial kingdom.

Khosroe Khan, was sitting opposite me, said, "I dreamt a few nights ago, that I was riding upon my horse, whose name is Firmaun; when I suddenly found myself upon a high wall: the sea was on my right hand below the wall, and there was a beautiful field on my left; when suddenly my horse leaped down with me into the beautiful meadow, and I found myself situated in a room like this in which we are now, sitting at the table, opposite to my friend Joseph Wolff.

*Aug. 16.*—His Excellency Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan, Vizier to the Prince Royal, *Sille Sultan*, called on me, and promised me all the assistance in his power, for my journey to Bokhara; but he was not a man with whom I could enter into religious discussion.

I afterwards called on Khosroe Khan, where I met several Mullahs. Khosroe Khan shewed me a beautiful manuscript in Persian: a translation of the Pentateuch, made by order of Nadir Shah, evidently by a Jew converted to Mohammedanism, for *שִׁלּוֹה* (*Shiloh*) in Genesis xlix. 10, is translated "Mohde," who is the deliverer the Mussulmans expect, who shall restore all things before the day of Judgment.

When I returned home, I found my room crowded with Jews of Teheran, who desired Bibles and Testaments; some of them were the same, who six years ago, when I was here, sent the Testaments back.



MULLAH MOHAMMED MIRZA RESA.

Mullah Mohammed Mirza Resa, a Jew who became a Mohammedan, called on me; he is the same person I conversed with six years ago. This man certainly is not a sincere believer in his new faith; for his arguments in favour of Mohammedanism, are the most sophistical I ever heard: for instance, he attempts to prove the divine message of Mohammed in the following manner. In Deuteronomy xxxiv. 10, is written כִּמֹּשֶׁה וְלֹא קָם כִּיָּיָא עֹר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל. "There arose not a Prophet since in Israel, like unto Moses." He infers from this, that there shall not arise in future a Prophet in Israel like unto Moses; for the word עֹר, (since) would be superfluous. Then he continues to say, "There must therefore arise among the nations a Prophet like unto Moses, and such a Prophet from another nation was predicted in Deut. xviii. 15, 18. "A Prophet from among their brethren." These, the Jewish renegade says, must be Ishmaelites, and the Prophet no other than Mohammed.

JEWS OF TEHERAN.

Aug. 12.—Some Jews called upon me, and invited me to their houses on the following Sabbath, to dispute with them. Amongst them were, Mullah Moosa Ibn Hajee Barhur Dar, and the Jew Elasar, who has been at Bokhara.

RABBI MEIR BEN ISAJAH FROM SAFED.

A Jewish Rabbi from Jerusalem called on me, who is one of the Shelohim, i. e. Apostles of the Jewish Community of Safed,\* sent for the purpose of preaching the Law to the people of Israel, who are scattered and spread abroad among the Gentiles in Persia; and to bring back their contributions for the Children of Israel, who reside in the Land of Israel, and in the city of Jerusalem. Oh! that it may be soon built up and established again.

JEWS OF DAGHESTAN.

Rabbi Meir Ben Isajah had travelled among the Jews in Daghestan, who wear arms, like their neighbours, the Tartars. He informs me, that there are 100 Jewish families at Derbend; at Andoora 400, at Koba 500. According to Rabbi Meir Ben Isajah's opinion, the Messiah must come within nine years; for every temple, built successively after that of Solomon, was to stand 410 years, according to the number contained in the letters, which

\* Safed, is a little town in Palestine, situated upon a hill, the burial place of most of the compilers of the Talmud, and of Maimonides, Rabbi Simon Ben Yohay, author of the mystical book, called Sohar. Many Jews believe, that the Messiah shall make his appearance at Safed, for it is the Galilee of the Gentiles, mentioned in Isaiah ix. 1. This very opinion of the Jews proves, that in the New Testament, Matt. iv. 15, 16, this text is justly cited.

compose the word קדוש, i. e. Holy;\* and three temples are to be erected according to the thrice repeated קדוש; but the first temple stood 420 years, on account of the Prophets, with whom the first temple was honoured; so that the last temple is to stand only 400 years. The world is to exist 6000 years, and having stood already 5591 years, in nine years time the Messiah must absolutely make his appearance, in order that the temple may be erected before the 6000 years elapse, and that it may stand 400 years before they have elapsed; and then the Sabbathical year shall have its commencement.

The Jews of Teheran are much better treated than those of Sheeras and Ipsahan. They received me into their houses with great hospitality. The Jews of Teheran, as well as those of Ispahan and Sheeras, permit their boys to dance before the Mohammedians, at their banqueting feasts.

The Jews here are in possession of a considerable number of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Pentateuch; but not in such numbers as I saw six years before, in the synagogue at Ispahan. All those which I inspected, accord most minutely with the editions of Europe.

Rabbi Meir read to me the following treatise of Maimonides, regarding the Messiah.

‘The King Messiah shall rise to make the kingdom of David return to its former condition and power, and he shall build the temple, and gather in the scattered of Israel, and in his days he shall re-establish the Code of Laws, as it was in the days of old; they shall offer up sacrifices, and they shall celebrate the seven years of release, and the years of jubilee, according to all the commandments which are mentioned in the law; and whoever does not believe in him, and does not hope in his coming, not only denies the words of the Prophets, but also the law of Moses; for has not the Law testified of him? It is written, Deut. xxx. 3, 4, that ‘Then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all nations, whither the Lord thy God had scattered thee. If any of thine be driven out unto the utmost part of heaven, from thence the Lord thy God will gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee.’ These are the words contained in the Law, and these comprise all that has been said by the Prophets. Balaam speaks of him, and prophesied of two Messiahs. The first Messiah is David, who shall save Israel from the hand of the Children of Esau.† He

* ק	K	.	.	.	.	100
ד	D	.	.	.	.	4
ו	O	.	.	.	.	6
ש	Sh	.	.	.	.	300

*Kdosh*, (Holy). The Hebrew letters are likewise used instead of numbers.

† Maimonides is here in opposition to the Sohar, who maintains that the first Messiah shall be Messiah the son of Joseph, who shall be killed.

says, 'I shall see him, but not nigh.' This is the King Messiah. 'There shall come a Star out of Jacob.' This is David. 'And a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' This is the King Messiah. 'And shall smite the corners of Moab.' This is David; for it is said of him, 'And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line.' 2 Sam. viii. 2. 'And destroy all the children of Seth.' This is the King Messiah; for it is written, 'His dominion shall be from sea to sea.' Zach. ix. 10. 'And Edom shall be a possession.' This is David; for it is written, 'And Edom became servants to David.' 'Seir also shall be a possession of his enemies.' This is King Messiah; for it is written, 'And Saviours shall come upon Mount Zion, to judge the mount of Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's!' And likewise by the Cities of Refuge it is seen, that a Messiah must come; for it is written, 'And if the Lord thy God enlarge thy coast, as he has sworn unto thy fathers, then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, besides these three.' Deut. xix. 7—9. As there never was an addition of three Cities of Refuge, it must be concluded, that Messiah will come, and three Cities of Refuge will be added; for God never commanded a thing in vain."

"There is no need to cite proofs out of the Prophets, for they are full of this subject: and it must not come into thy thoughts, that the Messiah must necessarily perform miracles, and do new things in the world, by raising the dead, and other such things. It is true that Rabbi Akiba, the great and wise man, one of the first Rabbies, carried the clothes of Ben Kosiba, the King, after him, and he proclaimed him as the King Messiah; but Kosiba was put to death on account of his sins; and as soon as he was killed, it was manifest that he was not the Messiah. The wise men did not demand of him either a sign or a miracle; for the principal credentials of true Messiahship, is this, that the Law and the Judgments must last for ever and ever, and he must neither add to, nor take from them; and whosoever adds to, or takes from them, or exposes the Law to alteration, and does not explain it according to the system generally adopted, is surely a liar, a wicked one, and an heretic! But if there should arise a King of the House of David, who meditates upon the Law, and observes it like David his father, as well the written Law, as the Tradition, and who should compel all Israel to walk in it, and should make them again firm in that in which they were relaxed, and if he fights the Lord's battles, then he is surely known to be the Messiah: as soon as he is successful, and conquers all nations round him, and builds the Temple in its place, and gathers together the scattered people of Israel; such a one shall surely be the Messiah. But if on the contrary, he is not successful, as has happened hitherto, or he should be killed; then it is certain, that he is not that personage predicted in the Law. This would prove only, that God had raised up a pretended Messiah, for the purpose of trying many by means of him; for it is written, 'And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of

the end; because it is yet for a time appointed.' Dan. xi. 35. But he, (Jesus of Nazareth) whom they thought was the Messiah, who was put to death by the *Tribunal of Justice*, of him, I say, Daniel prophesied long ago, for it is written Dan. xi. 15. 'Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves, to establish thy vision; but they shall fall.' And was there ever a greater fall, than that of Jesus of Nazareth? All the Prophets said, that the Messiah should be a Redeemer to Israel, and serve them, and gather those who are scattered, and confirm their commands: *and he was the cause that Israel perished by the sword; and he was the cause, that their remnant was scattered,\** that their law was cast to the ground and changed, and multitudes of people were led into error by him, so that they worshipped other objects beside God. But the thoughts of the Creator of the world are not such as can be explored by men; for not as their ways are his ways, and not like their thoughts are his thoughts." Maimonides says further, (Hilcoth Melachim Ch. xii.) "It must not come into thy thoughts, that in the days of the Messiah, things will not pursue their natural course, or that there shall be a new thing in the work of creation. The world shall be governed as usual; for thus it is written, 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together.' This is a figurative mode of speech, meaning that the Israelites, compared to a lamb, shall sit in safety with the wicked ones among the Gentiles, who are compared to a wolf and a leopard, as it is in a figurative metaphorical manner in Jeremiah v. 6. 'Wherefore a lion out of the forests shall slay them, and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities;' all of them shall return to the truth, and shall neither rob, nor destroy; but shall enjoy those things, which are compatible with the tranquillity and comfort of Israel: as it is written, 'And the lion shall eat straw like the ox.' All those parables and types will be made clear in the days of the Messiah."

"The wise men say, that there is no difference at all between the age of the Messiah and the present age, except that at that time *the Messiah shall rule alone, and only he.*"

"The plain text of the Prophets shews, that on the arrival of the Messiah, the battle of Gog and Magog shall be fought; and before the battle of Gog and Magog, a Prophet shall arise, to make straight the way to Israel, and to prepare their hearts; as it is written, 'Behold, I send before you Elijah,' and his office shall not be to decide between clean and unclean, or to declare those men, who have the reputation of righteous men, to be unrighteous; there shall be no such thing."

"The business of that Messenger shall be to proclaim Peace on Earth, as it is written, 'And he shall turn the heart of the fathers

\* Here Maimonides speaks the truth: for my nation was scattered on account of having crucified the Lord of Glory! They shed the blood of the Just!



unto the children.' There are wise men who say, that Elijah shall come in person, before the coming of the Messiah; but they add, how all those events shall take place, and the manner of it, no mortal man is able to know. Until they shall take place, the Prophets have veiled them in mystery, and our wise men have received no tradition about it. We know only as much as the Prophets have revealed us, and this is the reason of the difference of opinion on this subject; we cannot therefore speak on this point with decision, as we know nothing with certainty; and men may spend their whole lives in the investigation and study of it. But they ought not to do so, for it leads neither to the fear nor the love of God. We ought not to try to determine the precise time of the arrival of the Messiah. The wise men say, that it is sufficient for us to wait for his coming, and they themselves have laid down general outlines of their views, just as we have done. At the time of the arrival of the anointed King, his kingdom shall be settled; all Israel shall be gathered to him; they shall produce their genealogies by the miraculous power of the Holy Spirit, who shall rest upon Him, as it is written, Malachi iii. 3, "And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness." The children of Levi shall be purified first. The one shall say, that he traces his genealogy from the Priests, and the other from Levi; and the Messiah shall expel those, who are not of the tribe of Israel; for is it not said, "and the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a Priest with *Urim* and *Thummim*?" From this ye learn, that by the Holy Spirit it shall be known, of what tribe every one is; but he shall not say, that the one be illegitimate, and the other be a servant. The wise men and the Prophets do not expect that the Messiah will govern over the Gentiles, nor that Israel shall subdue the Gentiles, nor that they should be exalted over the Gentiles, for the sake of eating and drinking and being merry; but that Israel may meditate in the Law and its wisdom, that they may become worthy of everlasting life: as we have explained it in our Treatise on Repentance, speaking about everlasting life. And at that time, there shall be hunger and war no more, and envy and anger shall cease among us. Much happiness shall be showered down upon us from the presence of the Lord, and every kind of sweet food shall be found like dust, and the whole world shall seek after the knowledge of God alone, and therefore shall abound in great and wise men, so that they shall acquire a knowledge of their Creator, as far as is in the power of man: for it is written in Isaiah xi. 9. "The knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea!"

After having read with the Jews of Teheran this treatise of Maimonides, I told them, that I expect that Jesus of Nazareth, the true Messiah, whose hands and feet were pierced, who was brought like a lamb to the slaughter, who was the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, who after the sceptre was taken from Judah,



and the legislative power from between his feet, came the first time; shall come the second time in the clouds of heaven, and with the trump of the Archangel; and those, who have followed him, and believed in him and in his first coming; those dead in Christ, shall rise first, and the Children of Israel shall look upon him, whom they have pierced, and mourn; and Jesus Christ shall have dominion from shore to shore, and from sea to sea, and all nations shall serve and obey him; he shall sit upon the throne of his father David, and reign with his Saints at Jerusalem gloriously!

Rabbi Meir then observed, that the world originally worshipped fire and water. He adduced as a proof the following words of David, "We went through fire and through water, and thou broughtest us unto a wealthy place!" Though as a proof this is not conclusive, yet it appears, that he is right as to the fact; for the Guebres in Persia, who are called Parsees in India, worship them to this day.

The poor Jews desired me to use my influence with Khosroe Khan, to convince him, that the notion of the Jews using the blood of children, was a foul calumny; for it is believed by Khosroe Khan, and by other Mohammedans.

A Jewish physician made his appearance, who had read all the writings of Razes and Avicenna, in Arabic; he has a pension from the King.

In traversing those Mohammedan Provinces, meeting alternately with success and disappointment, observing the different characters of those people, it is very evident how futile the prudential resolutions of men are. "Not by power nor by might, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord!" Oh, that this were the motto of all Missionaries and Missionary Societies! But in the present day, one trusts frequently in splendid firmauns, or in the enquiring spirit of some curious investigating Persian; another upon the success of the Russian arms; others upon the arrival of some Consul or Envoy, or upon the patronage of some great personage. "Not by power nor by might, but my spirit, saith the Lord!" Where the Spirit of the Lord is wanting, no human power can effect the conversion of one soul.

#### ALI ULLAHE, OR WORSHIPPERS OF ALI.

My friend Khosroe Khan introduced me to Kosor Ali, one of the Sect of Ali,\* who believe the incarnation of the Divinity in Ali. I questioned him on several occasions: for instance,

*Myself.* In whom do you believe?

*Kosor.* In him, who lives.

*M.* Who is this?

\* It is very remarkable, that this sect believes, that the Earth moves round the Sun, and that a star is as large as a sheep. Their principal men in Persia, are, Sayed Ketab Ullah, Sayed Azim Mullah, Sayed Imraha Khan, Sayed Meer Ullah, Sayed Shams Ullah, and Haje Mullah Resa Kansar Ali at Teheran.

K. Sayed Abbas, at Kermanschah, who is in the place of Ali, and greater than Ali is none: we call him God.

M. Why do you believe Ali to be God?

K. Ali said to his friend Benjamin, 'if one should assert too much, strike him upon the cheek.' Ali said at the same time to Benjamin, 'I Ali have created heaven and earth!' Benjamin said to him, 'O Ali, dost thou not assert too much?' Ali gave him a sweet smelling Indian flower, which that moment grew out of his mouth. Benjamin perceived by this, that he was God!

M. By what sign do you know each other?

K. We ask, 'whence do you drink water?' and if he is of our Sect, he stretches out his tongue, and answers, 'Az Serree Sabeel!' (from the whiskers.)

M. Have you no books?

K. We have Dafter (Records) of our sayings.

M. Do you believe in Mohammed?

K. Our faith is concealed, though spread throughout the world.\*

M. What do you think of God?

K. Ali is God! he is every where, and in every thing; as the salt must be in every thing; and every thing is God.† One who believes in Ali, never dies: he only changes his garment. We have a *visible religion*, a *contemplative religion*. We see every thing; a talking faith is of no use.

M. Have you Priests?

K. We have Saida (Elders) at Karakhon, Kermanschah, Hamadan, Teheran, Sekamran in Mazanderan, Sheeras, Senardala, Sokola, and in some places in Khorossaun, and upon Jebel Amoor, between Mecca and Egypt.

M. What do you think of Jesus?

K. Ali was both Jesus and Moses.

M. What do you think of Mohammed?

K. Mohammed is called by us Benyamin; he was created of the sweat of Ali; for Ali was before the world existed. The law of Mohammed is called by us, "Hakekate Benyamin,"‡ (the truth of Benjamin.) Our religion is no book-religion, it is a religion of the heart!

M. What do you think of Angels?

K. Little children are Angels. We only know four things in the world: Sun, Metals, King and Lion.

M. Do you believe in the existence of the Devil?

K. Ali is the Devil: for the Devil is the whip of God, with which he punishes men: but the Devil is good, for nothing bad can come of God.

\* There are Ali Ullahe around Cabool, where they are likewise called Jerakh Koosh, i. e. Light Killers, for they extinguish the candle, and have prohibited intercourse with each other.

† *Every thing is God*, is the common system of the Hindoos.

‡ It is probable, that he is called Benyamin, on account of his being a son (Ben) of Yemen.

*M.* Do you believe there is a Paradise, or Hell?

*K.* The place near a good man, is Paradise; near a bad one, is Hell.

*M.* Do you know Yazid?

*K.* No, but Jamsheed, who was a good man. In his time men lived to the age of seven hundred years.

*M.* What is your opinion of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob?

*K.* The faith of Abraham, is our faith.

*M.* Is it true that fire cannot hurt you?

*K.* If prepared by one of our denomination, in our assembly, fire is changed into a rose, by breathing upon it. Seven words by us suffice, to make the mountains shake, and this room divide.

*M.* What is your opinion of Adam?

*K.* Adam was the picture of God.

*M.* Have you sacrifices?

*K.* All our worship consists in sacrifices of sheep, oil and rice.

*M.* Whose coming do you expect?

*K.* In Ali, Jesus and Mohde will be united. Two years since, a child was born at Ispahan: on the day he was born, he said to his parents, "Carry me to Mecca, for I am Jesus, and in fourteen years more, I shall take possession of the earth: and the whole world shall have one religion and one book, even the book of Jesus. All men shall be brothers; every one shall marry his own sister; but before that time, war shall take place with Russia, and the Ali Ullahe shall join the Russians, and Jesus shall reside at Sultaneah near Casween. Before my open appearance, for I am Jesus, (the child continued) the Russians will have taken Persia, with the assistance of the Ali Ullahe." This same child predicted pestilence and earthquake; but whosoever drinketh *milk* mixed with *wine* shall never die.

*M.* Where is the cradle of the Ali Ullahe?

*K.* Shahr Zor, near Senaa.

*M.* What do you think about the resurrection of the dead?

*K.* He that is one with Jesus, shall never die; for the believer in Jesus or Ali, is *one* with those identical persons.

*M.* Do you believe in witchcraft?

*K.* We believe witchcraft to be a lie; every man of God can perform miracles. There are four sciences in the world: *Seemea*, a book, with the letters of which one can perform miracles. *Leemea*, a book, which, wherever it is placed, renders serpents harmless. *Keemea*, a science, by which an old man can be made young. *Khafa*, a science, by which one can make one's self invisible.

*M.* Perform a miracle in my presence.

*K.* A perfect man only can perform one.

*M.* Have you circumcision?

*K.* Merely to please the Mohammedans; for Jesus abolished circumcision.

*M.* Do you believe the crucifixion of Jesus?

*K.* No; we believe that Jesus went from Mecca to heaven.

*M.* What is your opinion respecting the deluge?

*K.* We have heard of it; but it is not in the revealed records of the Ali Ullahe, who have existed before the creation of the world.

*M.* You told me that you are buried by the Mussulmans; why do you say then, that you do not die?

*K.* We call this in our language, "Hatam," i. e. going from one place to another. If he is buried in one place, he rises in another.\*

*M.* What is your opinion concerning the transmigration of souls?

*K.* One who has done bad actions, passes into a beast. Balool, the brother of a Khaleef, had a brother who was transformed into a mule.† The Khaleef wanted to kill the mule. Balool said, "Do not kill it, but pray that it may become good." The Khaleef prayed seven years, and the mule became a man again. Beasts are the Hell of bad men.

*M.* What are your customs in regard to marriage?

*K.* We give presents to the parents of the daughter. We take only one wife.

*M.* Do you intermarry with other sects?

*K.* With Armenians only; for Armenians believe the divinity of Jesus, one and the same person with Ali.

*M.* Have you Prophets?

*K.* We have no message-bearer of God, but every man of prayer is a Prophet. God is *One*, who has four witnesses: the first witness is called Awl-Yaar; (the first friend.) The second is Akher-Yaar, (the last friend.) The third, Kerm Khowandekar, (the noble of God.) The fourth, Resa David, the reception of David.

*M.* Who was David?

*K.* David created himself, he is always alive.

*M.* Was Ali married?

*K.* He had neither father, mother, nor wife.

*M.* What day of the week is considered by you as sacred?

*K.* Thursday.

*M.* Do you make proselytes, and how?

*K.* He that will be received, must offer sacrifices, and give a feast to the Dervishes. Dervishes of all sects are Ali Ullahe.

*M.* How is adultery punished?

*K.* The Ali Ullahe has every thing in common; wife, money and food.

This was the substance of my conversations with Kosor; but I had conversations afterwards with several other persons of the sect of Ali Ullahe, all of whom I found, on examination, agreed in the statements made by Kosor.

#### SILLE SULTAN, PRINCE GOVERNOR OF TEHERAUN.

I was introduced to the Prince Governor of Teheraun, whose name is Ali Khan Shad Zadeh, with the title of Sille Sultan, i. e. Shadow of the King. I stated to His Royal Highness the object

\* I found the same opinion existing among the people of Tibet, when I was at Cashmeer.

† The transmigration of souls into the bodies of beasts, is believed even among the Abyssinian Christians, and by the Jews in general.

of my journeyings and wanderings in that part of the world; he seemed to take an interest in the cause.

#### SHEAH, FOLLOWERS OF ALI.

Sir Robert Porter, Sir Gore Ouseley, and others, have already explained the difference between the Sheah, i. e. the followers of Ali, and the Sunnee, or followers of Omar; I therefore need not repeat it. All the Persians are Sheah; they acknowledge twelve Imams, or successors of the Prophet, viz. *Ali*, who is buried at Koofa.\* *Hassan*, Ali's son, buried at Medina. *Hussein*, Ali's son, killed by Yazid, the son of Moawia, buried at Kerbelay. *Seyn Alabedeem*, who was poisoned, and buried at Medina. *Mohammed Baker*, buried at Medina. *Imaam Jaafar Sadeh*, buried at Medina. *Moosa Kasem*, at Kasemeyn. *Imam Resa*, killed by the son of Haroon Rasheed, and buried at Meshed in Khorossaun. *Imam Mohammed Takee*, buried at Kasemeyn. *Imam Ali Nakee*, buried at Suomorah. *Saheb Azzemaun*, (Lord of the age:) the Hadees of the Sheah affirm, that he is still alive; that he disappeared in the same manner as Enoch and Elijah, and shall return in the fulness of time, as the great Mohde, i. e. Conductor of true believers. *Imam Hassan Askeree*, buried at Suomorah, near Bagdad.

#### KHAREGEE.

Besides the Sunnee and Sheah, there is at Muscat a sect of Mussulmans called Kharegee, who say that Ali had apostatized from the faith of Islam; they therefore curse Ali, as the Sheah do Omar.

*Aug. 22.*—Mullah Mohammed, a Mohammedan from Boostan in Khorossaun, was sent to me by order of the Mujtehed† of Teheraun, to enquire whether it was true, that I came to Persia for the purpose of disputing about religion with the Mussulmans; if such was the case, he advised me to desist, as it might occasion a popular excitement.

#### KHOSROE KHAN.

I called to-day on Khosroe Khan. He asked me whether it was true, that Judah, the son of Jacob, had possessed such strength in his hair, that he would have been able to kill all the Egyptians with one single hair of his head, and that this strength of Juhah's hair had frightened Joseph to such a degree, that he made himself known to his brethren. Khosroe had learned this fable from the Jews. I observed in Palestine and in the deserts of Mesopotamia, that the Jews and Christians frequently entertain the Arabs in the deserts, sitting down with them under their tents, amusing them with legends of this kind; and in Persia, where they are

\* Mazaur, in the kingdom of Bokhara, claims likewise this honour; the inhabitants of Mazaur and Bokhara call him *Shahe Merdaan*, i. e. King of men.

† Mujtehed is the title of the chief Ecclesiastic of the Sheah Mussulmans, and means, "One who fights for the true faith."



greatly persecuted, yet in spite of this, many a curious Khan, especially such a man as Khosroe Khan, will desire Jews and Christians to amuse him with histories of their Saints. I frequently saw grave Turks, and Arab merchants, sitting in the desert near a Jew, listening to him with attention, while he was telling them of the beauty of Joseph, the miraculous power of Moses, and the legend of the ascent to heaven accomplished by him: and at other times, attending to the history of Heyk or Abgar, related by an Armenian, smoking his pipe at the same time. Hence may easily be traced the reason, why the Koran abounds with legends taken from the Talmud. Many a journey the Pseudo-Prophet must have made with Jews from Yemen, and many a time must he have listened to wonderful stories from a Jew, about the wisdom of Solomon: how that wise Monarch knew the language of the beasts of the field, and of the fowls under heaven; and many a time he must have sat (as the history of the Arabians leads us to suspect) together with Baheera the Monk, and heard the accounts of the cures performed by Christ the Lord, and of the preaching of John the Baptist.

Those sayings in the Koran, although fabulous, are mostly founded on truth; though disfigured, many a saying must have been preserved and related in the desert about Abraham, and that High Priest of the Most High God, Melchisedek, not related in Scripture. It is so beautiful; I admire the affection of the Arabs for their forefathers, and I feel more delight in sitting in the tents of the Arabs, listening to the histories of Ishmael, when a child, how he cried and stamped with his little feet, whilst his mother Hagar at a distance, united her cries with the cries of her thirsty babe, which at last touched the Lord, the most merciful and most pitiful, to such a degree, that he sent the angel, who caused a well of water to spring forth from the same place, where the little babe had stamped his feet: I say, that I delight more in hearing such a tale, than in the dry and chilly speculation of a German or French infidel, with which he awfully impoverishes and not enriches, empties instead of furnishing the minds of the youth of our universities.

I prayed with an eminent person in secret. After prayer, which was directed to our Lord Jesus Christ, he left me in no doubt of his sincerity, with an act not quite consistent with European manners, but expressive of the utmost reverence for his spiritual guide: he literally kissed my feet. I reminded him of the words of our Saviour, "He that denies me before men, him will I deny before my father which is in heaven." He replied, "In the times of our Lord, immediate death was not to be apprehended, for Kings cared not for the different creeds: but now immediate death is certain, and even in those times, St. Paul found it necessary to be a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks." He then added, "my dear Wolff, you shock the Persians, by telling them at once, that Jesus is the Son of God, and that he died for our sins; would it not be better to tell them, "Oh my friends, I am a Dervish of Jewish origin, and returned to Jesus, and am drunk with the love of God,

and I wish to know more of God;" but as you are now doing, your life is in danger: they killed the Russian Ambassador in open daylight, and fifty persons with him, on account of the eunuch, Mirza Yakoob, who wanted to profess Christianity openly; and they wanted to kill me, and Manujar Khan.

#### VIZIER.

Calling again upon the Vizier, I had a fine specimen of the manner in which a Mohammedan lawyer defends his Mussulman client. The lawyer with a loud voice said, "My friend is a Mussulman, and says, 'God is God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God;' he is not a Jew, who says 'God is God, and Moses the word of God.'"

*Aug. 28.*—Haje Mirza Fasl Ullah, of Sawa, (which place is about 80 miles from Teheraun, and where, according to the Hadees, the sea has been in the time of Mohammed, and was changed by the Prophet into dry land) called on me in the British Embassy, together with Agha Mohammed Hussein of Teheraun, the former is in possession of the controversies of Henry Martyn. He affirms, that the son of Imam Hassan Askeree, who will be the Mohde, is still alive, and residing, though invisibly, upon Jebel Kah, or Jebel Sah\* in Arabia; and as soon as he shall make his appearance, one thousand children shall be born of his shoulders; but before his open appearance, Antichrist shall be killed by Jesus. According to the Mohammedans, Antichrist is the son of a Jew, with only one eye, and one hair in his beard; he was born at Medina, in the time of Mohammed, and is at present either at Ghilan or Ispahan; but invisible, until the time appointed shall arrive. After Antichrist, or Dujaal, as the Mohammedans call him, shall have been put to death, Mohde shall make his appearance.

I then explained to them my views respecting the sufferings of Christ, and his glorious manifestation, as King and Priest; also my opinion concerning Antichrist: for to hear the opinions of infidels on these subjects, and not to make them acquainted with the tree of everlasting life, would be a great sin.

Mullah Mohammed of Boostan called on me. He says, that Mohde, who is to appear, performs even now a pilgrimage to Mecca every year; he is seen, but not known. He said, that he was glad to find, that I expect the speedy arrival of the Messiah Jesus; for the signs of the times prove, that Mohde must soon come; a short time previous to which, the Angel Gabriel shall appear upon mount Abokbeys, near Mecca, and upon the Caaba at Mecca; and he shall exclaim, "Come near, for Mohde has appeared." Then there shall be bloodshed; the daughter shall be against her mother, and the city of Koofa† shall be built again.

#### CONVERSATION WITH THE MUJTEHED.

*Aug. 23.*—I called on the Mujtehed, whose name is Ameer

\* Jebel, is the Arabic word for mountain.

† An ancient ruined city in Arabia, once famous for learning.

Mohammed Mohde. Previous to my calling on him, Mullali Bahram, the Guebre, informed me, that on entering the room of the Mujtehed, I ought to speak in the following manner: "You are my Superior, I am your servant; you are a great man, I have heard much about you: I have never seen so good a man as yourself." Although I did not make the Mujtehed such a complimentary address, he treated me with the greatest civility. I said to him, that having been a Jew, and believing that Jesus Christ died for our sins and iniquities, I have an ardent desire to induce my nation to believe the same doctrine. He replied, that he had no objection to my arguing with Mussulmans; but I should not go to their houses, for there were many fanatics at Teheran, who might serve me as they lately served the Russian Ambassador, and he should be sorry for such an event; for Mohammed said, "Be kind to a stranger, even though he be an Infidel!" The Mujtehed and the rest of the Mullahs treated me with great attention; among them were Akhonda Mullah Ramasan Ali, who was acquainted with Henry Martyn, and his controversies. I learned from the Mujtehed, that the Sheah divide themselves into seven parties: namely, Kysanee, Wakef, Naoosees, Fatahee, Ismaele, Saydee, and Asne Asheree.

The Yeseede, or worshippers of the Devil, are called by the people of Teheran, followers of the enemies of Iman Hussein.

#### SEVENTY-TWO RELIGIONS.

It is remarkable, that Jews throughout the world, as well as Parsees, Mohammedans, Eastern Christians, Sabeans and Hindoos, believe, that there are in the world 72 religions, 72 languages, and 72 nations.

My old friend, before mentioned, Khosroe Khan, told me he had frequently dreamed about the Lord Jesus Christ: one day he dreamed that the Apostle Peter appeared to him, and asked him, whether he had a great desire to enter the kingdom of heaven: but Khosroe Khan was ashamed to answer.

The Persians, in order to console one, whose relation is dead, say, "May life be to you! may peace be to your head! may the most merciful God preserve those, who have remained alive!" The salutations of the Mohammedans to a married person, are, "May you be blessed! good futurity and good luck! may you become old!"

#### A FEMALE MOHAMMEDAN MULLAH.

Hajee Hindee Zohoree Aluesa, a learned woman from the city of Lucknow, called on me, accompanied by a Persian gentleman with a red beard. She was about fifty years of age, and had performed a pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Imam Resa at Meshed, the holy city, and to the sepulchre of Imam Hussein, at Kerbelay, and to the sepulchre of the Prophet of Mecca. I spoke to her about the death of Jesus Christ, and the judgments to come. She sometimes touched her companion with her arm, observing

that I had said many things, which she had frequently preached. She told me, that she had discovered by the book, called Khorooj Namah, that Christ will come again in the year 1861, on the mountain Abokbeys, near Mecca; and Elija and the Prophet Jonas, who is still in the fish's belly, will be his forerunners.

I received a visit from Mohammed Mohde Mirza, brother-in-law to the Prince Governor of Teheran, (a descendant of Nadir Shah,) and several other persons. I related to them the manner in which I came to the knowledge of Christ. It is neither self-conceit, nor vanity, to remember the goodness of God, and the goodness of Christ towards one's soul; on the contrary, it humbles the soul, from the consideration of its unworthiness, compared with the experience of the goodness and loving kindness of God; and to promulgate that goodness, makes our brethren sympathize with us, and encourages them to look to that Saviour, who is able to save even to the uttermost.

#### SOOFFEES:\* MYSTICAL PHILOSOPHERS IN THE EAST.

I have already in my former journals treated of the Sooffees I met with at Sheeras, Ispahan, Cashan, Erivan, Teheran; I shall only briefly notice once more these Eastern mystical, sensual and (in the strictest sense of the word,) antinomian Pantheists and Infidels.

Abool Kasem Shahed of Gheelan, a learned Dervish, employed in the printing office of the Pasha of Egypt at Cairo, gave me, eleven years ago, the following definition of a Sooffee. "A Sooffee is a person, who with purity of intention, becomes, as it were, a friend to the whole race of mankind, and bears to *every religion* a friendly relationship. In the time of our Lord the prophet, upon whom be the mercy and peace of God, the chosen Disciples, who were worshippers of God, in the darkness of the world, were clothed with a cloth of Soof (hair): the true worshippers of God, therefore, came to be distinguished by the appellation of Sooffees." There is however a distinction between the Sooffees, followers of Omar, and the Sooffees, followers of Ali. One of the former, residing at Bussorah, gave me the following definition: "A Sooffee signifies a professor of Taanwoof, which, as Junaid of Bagdad says, means the undivided devotion of the mind to God: to the disregard of all, but him, even though the doctrinal arguments should be drawn from the Sheraa, or law of Islam. The sects of our pure Sooffee, doctors of this blessed family, are divided into numerous branches, which however are classed into four principal ones.

*First.* The *Refaa*, which is attributed to the ancient Sayid Ahmed Alkebeer Arrifaae. In this sect, youth are allowed the sounding of drums, and dancing with the brethren, the men of purity,

\* Sooffee is supposed by some to be derived from the word Soof (hair cloth); for those who belong to this sect wear cloth of this description; others suppose it to be derived from the Arabic word "Sooff" (pure).



accompanied with the mention of the Lover; that is to say, "The mighty and exalted God, and the praises of his beloved, the honoured Prophet Mohammed."

*Second.* The *Kadaree*. This is the sect of the pious Dr. Sayd Abd Alkadeer Aj-jilane of Bagdad. One of their ceremonies is, walking in a circle with a gentle movement of the body to and fro, accompanied with chaunts, in honour of God and the Prophet.

*Third.* The *Nakhshbande*, from Hajee Mohammed Nakhshbande of Bokhara. His disciples repeat in a low voice, "Allah," (God) till the breath is lost, and fainting they reflect themselves; the Sheikh being in the circle, until master and disciples earnestly behold each other, and each is present to the soul of his fellow. Hajee Mohammed Nakhshbande, a famous descendant of the family of Nakhshbande, is now residing at Cashmeer; he is Moorsheed (spiritual guide) of all the Mussulmans in Toorkeestaun.\*

*Fourth.* The *Mohde*, from Sayd Ali, son of Assayd Mohde of Yemen. They sound the psaltery either singly or in circles, in praising God and his Prophet. They chaunt the finest psalmody, with voices of the greatest perfection. All their observances are admitted and practised by the doctors of Islam; they are held to be in conformity with the Law and the Prophet.

#### MIRZA ABOOL KASEM.

Mirza Abool Kasem at Sheeras, according to the account given by Abool Kasem Shahed of Gheelan, was the Chief of the Sooffees; he had a great many disciples; they call him, "Saket," (silent:) no smile was ever seen on his countenance. Masnawee, a book, written by a Turkish Dervish, is their chief book: they continually cite from it this sentence, "He that has a good temper, say, that he is good: let him be of the sect of Ali, or of the sect of Omar."

#### GUEBRES.

Poor and depised people! you are almost like my own nation, ye worshippers of fire! What shall I relate of you,—you descendants of *Keon* and of *Yezdigird*! *Poor Guebres!* how often have I watched you performing your devotion, in the corner of the British Embassy at Teheraun!

The Guebres reside chiefly at Yezd, Kerman, Sheeras, Ispahan, and Kashaan. In India, they reside chiefly in Bombay, Soorat and Guzzerat.

As I have treated at large about this sect in the third volume of my Journal, I will only add, that they do not use water for any unclean purpose; for as Mullah Bahram said, "In the water the light is visible." The atrocious, and unnatural crimes committed among Persians and Turks, are not committed by the Guebres. They relate of Zershust, that he was cast into a fiery furnace by

\* Whole families and whole cities of Mohammedans, have as their Moorsheed some holy man, whom they consult in all matters of importance.



Nimrod, for refusing to acknowledge him as God, and to worship him as such.

They say, that Zershust arrived at the knowledge of one God by degrees, by drawing conclusions from effects to the first cause. It is remarkable, that the Jews assert both of Abraham: namely, that he was cast by Nimrod into a fiery furnace, and that he came to the knowledge of God, by the power of his reasoning, and his knowledge of Astronomy. A superstitious belief in the sanctity of those Patriarchs, leads to the same mistake, as that of philosophy: namely, an attempt to deprive God of his glory, by ascribing to the power and exertions of man himself, what only could be effected by the favour and grace of God.

These Guebres, up to this time, have in regular succession, several ecclesiastical Dignitaries, and have beside the Mobed and Destoor, likewise Phersangaane, Pharhand and Hirebed.

They believe in the deluge, and that the whole world was of water, before God created it. They are acquainted with the history of fallen angels. Good men, according to them, go to Behesht, i. e. to Paradise; and bad men, to Doozakh, i. e. Hell, where they remain, until they have expiated their sins.\*

The Devil is called Ahrmand. They sacrifice a sheep every year to Ormuzd. The *Mobed* distinguishes himself from the *Destoor*, by wearing *hair* upon his head. I give herewith the names of Angels, as they are called by the Guebres; as they may afford matter of speculation to philologists. They are thirty in number, viz. Wahman, Ardi Behesht, Shahr War, Sepandar Mezd, Khor-dad, Amordad, Deh, Ador, Aboon, Khorshed, Mah, Tatsh-Dar, Goosh, Deh, Mahrisad, Sorosh, Rushn, Parwardeen, Wahraroom, Room, Bad, Deh, Deen, Ard, Ashdaad, Asmoon, Somyad, Mun-trasapand, Anaron.

My friend Mullah Bahram did not remember the name of the thirtieth angel. They relate that Abraham agreed with Sarah, that circumcision should be the penalty of his unfaithfulness to her, and that he one day made himself liable to that penalty. They call themselves *Fars* or *Behdeen*.† They call God Yezdoon Ormuzd, who has 1100 names beside. Ormuzd is the name of God among them, and the name of the first day of every month.

The prayer they offer to God, is called by them supplication; to the angels they offer prayer, called intercessory prayer. Every one of the angels is the protector of something. *Wahman* is the protector of beasts. *Sepandar* is the protector of trees. *Khordad*, the protector of water. *Ardi-Behesht*, the protector of fire. The

\* It is remarkable, that I have not hitherto met with a sect, who believe in *everlasting punishments*, except Christians: neither Jews, nor Parsees, nor Budhists, nor Hindoos believe it.

† I am not quite sure with regard to the word Behdeen. My Guebres at Sheeras and Teheraun, derived it from the words, *beh*, good, and *deen*, belief; but Mr. Wilson at Bombay told me, that the laymen only call themselves, not Behdeen, but Beedeen, i. e. without faith.

Guebres, during prayer, loose their girdles from their loins, and turn their faces towards the East, with the hand on their breast. They never extinguish the fire in the temple of Yazd. Oh that the fire divine may be kindled in the hearts of that poor people, which no power can extinguish! Their Priests are obliged to pray for the souls of dead men. They have a book called *Yasht*, and assert, that those who pray in it, will have their bodies exempt from putrefaction. The names of their present Mobed at Yazd are, *Keikosroe*, *Shawr*, and *Rostam*. They believe in metempsychosis.

#### REASON OF THE HATRED BETWEEN JEWS AND GUEBRES.

Key Khosroe had a Vizier, whose name was Gudarz. He was sent as Governor to Palestine, where he married a Jewess; who, after she had lived with him for some time, became pregnant. Soon after her pregnancy, he was recalled to Persia; before he left his wife, he told her, that if the child should be a boy, she should give him a number of cities in Judea; if a girl, she should give her a certain sum of money from the Jewish treasury. The child was a boy: the Jews tried to kill him; but his mother made her escape with him; and when his father returned to Palestine, the Jews were severely punished. The name of the Vizier's son was Rakhm; the Jews call him Bukhtunaz; and on account of him, the Jews hate the Guebres: this is the story of the Guebres. The Guebre at Sheeras told me, "When we have walked in the good way, we go to Behesht Gorasmund, (the dwelling-place near God, where the angels are, and the spirits of light, or "Horizon," as it is called in their language.) There, no destruction takes place; there we eat sweet fruits, whence pure water flows from our hands, and our whole body; and we drink of the desire and love of God. A time is coming, when this world will pass away, and another will be created; and God will do this 18000 times." When a boy is seven years of age, he receives the girdle. With regard to their mode of burying their dead, I refer my readers to the third volume of my former journals.

#### ARMENIANS.

Armenians from the neighbourhood of Ispahan called on me; they inform me that around Ispahan, and as far as Kerman-Chah, 16785 Armenians are residing in sixty villages.

The Armenians in Persia have been hitherto very ill treated, especially at Sheeras: for though the Mohammedans at Sheeras are considered as the most civilized, they are nevertheless the most cruel and inhuman set of people (the people of Khorossaun excepted) throughout Persia: but the Armenians on the frontier of Russia are better treated; for the Persians, there, are always afraid that they may go over to the Russians.

Before I enter now upon a country, where the light of Christianity never shone; where never any Apostle of old, or any missionary of the present time has been; I think it not amiss to give

*A short sketch of the history of the Armenians,*

as I collected it during my former missionary errands in the year 1822 to 1826, and again now, in all parts of Armenia; as well those belonging to Turkey, as those belonging to Persia and Russia; from some of the most distinguished men among this nation in different parts.

Johannes Avdall, an Armenian at Calcutta, a gentleman of great learning, burning with zeal for the promotion of piety and learning among his nation; religious, without bigotry; liberal, without having abandoned the interests of his nation; well acquainted, not only with the Armenian, but likewise with the Persian, Turkish, Hindoostanee, English, Latin, Greek and French languages; and the Bishop of Gumushkhane gave me the following information about their nation; which information was in accordance with that which I had previously obtained at Ech-Miazin, Shoosha, Tiflis, Constantinople, etc.

In the beginning of the third century, the rays of the Gospel began to beam afresh upon the horizon of Armenia: Christianity was diffused by the zealous exertions of Gregory, of *Pelhavie's* extraction, who was cotemporary with Tiritates, King of Armenia. This zealous preacher, for enlightening the minds of his countrymen with the light of the Gospel, received the name of Lusaw-oritsh, or the Illuminator.

Temples dedicated to Aphrodite and Diana, worshipped by the Armenians, were levelled to the ground by the exertions of Gregory, under the auspices of Tiritates, who had embraced the Gospel. The conversion of the King paved the way for the dissemination of the truth throughout the country. The circumstances connected with the evangelical mission of St. Gregory, and the conversion of Tiritates, are clearly detailed by Agathangekhos, who was Secretary to the King, and who recorded the events of his own time: the first and most faithful historian of Armenia. With the assistance of the King, Gregory built a most splendid church in Waghmarshapat, near Erivan, in the province of Ararat. The erection of the edifice destined for the worship of Christ, is, according to Agathangekhos, blended with a miracle. Our Lord Jesus Christ was seen in a vision by St. Gregory, upon the spot where the church was erected; consequently it received the appellation of Ech-Miazin, i. e. Descent of the only begotten. St. Gregory was the first Cathokhikos, or General Patriarch of Armenia, and the seat was confined to Ech-Miazin.

On the extinction of the Arsacidae, and the subversion of the political independence of Armenia, the Magi, the followers of Zoroaster, were allowed by the Persian Kings, to use every means to convert the churches into temples of fire-worshippers; and they were supported by the Margraves, who ruled over Armenia, by order of the King of Persia.

The events, that took place in Armenia, consequent upon a most resolute struggle between Christianity and idolatry, are recorded

by Eliseus; whose chronicles have been translated into English by professor Neuman at Munich. During these eventful times, in the year 452, when the Armenian Cathokhikos was put in prison by the Magi, the seat of the Patriarch was removed from Ech-Miazin to the city of Diun.

The absence of the then Patriarch Joseph, from the seat of his spiritual government, and the uncertainty of his deliverance from prison, rendered the election of a new Cathokhikos, or general Patriarch, indispensably necessary. Kyr Militez, the great Archbishop of Manazkert, was installed in the Patriarchal throne, with the consent of Joseph. The interval between the first establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate at Ech-Miazin,\* and its removal to Diun, is computed to be 150 years; it continued at Diun 472 years. In the year 924, when Armenia was subject to the constant incursions of the barbarous troops of the Caliphate, Johannes Catholicus Dashonakertensis, the historian, was at the head of the ecclesiastical government at Diun. Nise, a delegate of the Hagaritsh Youssuf, at the instigation of the Caliphate, took possession of that city, and converted the Patriarchal seat into a lodging-house for his servants. Consequently, in the following year, Johannes removed his ecclesiastical establishment to Aghtamar, in the province of Vaspurakan, where he died of grief.

Stephen II. succeeded, and the Patriarchate, after continuing to be held in that city for a few years, was, owing to the times and circumstances, removed to Varag, and thence to the city of Ani, at that time the capital of Armenia. The interval between the removal of the Patriarchate from Diun to Ani, comprises 69 years. At the last place the Patriarchs remained 71 years, till the time of the destruction of Ani, by the Persian King Alphaslar, in the year A. D. 1064.

Ehaubloor and Zamindow were the seats of Patriarchs during a period of 49 years.

The black mountain, and the castle called Zoos, also, became for 34 years temporary habitations of the Patriarchs of Armenia. On the death of the Patriarch Parsick, 1113, A. D., Gregory Pelhavia was elected Patriarch at the age of 20 years. Notwithstanding his talents and amiable qualities, his youth was a cause of dissatisfaction to David Zhornick, Archbishop of Aghtamar, who aspired to the Patriarchal dignity. By the assistance of five Bishops, attached to Zoroh Vans, one of the Princes of Armenia, whom he had gained to his side, and the influence of a foreign chief, he was illegally elected Patriarch.

Aghtamar is a small fortified island, surrounded by the sea of Van; it was formerly distinguished by the residence of the Lord of Rushtoonies Zoorah, who in the earliest times had been put to death by the Armenian King Tiran.

\* I visited Ech-Miazin in the year 1825, and a description of it is to be found in the third volume of my journals, printed at London in the 1827.



On the news of the rebellion of David reaching Gregory Pelhavie, he convened on the Black mountain a general synod of the Armenian Bishops, Monks, &c. consisting of about 2500 persons. David and his coadjutors were condemned, and anathematized, 1114, A. D.

Nierses Shnoorhaly, or Clayensis, youngest brother of the Patriarch Gregory, was present at the council. But David continued in his illegal Patriarchate, to which others have succeeded up to this day. This schism is alluded to in the pastoral epistle addressed to the Armenians by Nierses, which was translated at Venice. Gregory Pelhavie, the lawful Patriarch, removed from Zoos to Room-Kalaa,\* a well fortified castle, which formerly belonged to the Armenian Prince Vasil, surnamed the Crafty. In the year 1148, during the crusades, Room-Kalaa became the property of the Latin Count Joscelyn, who was at that period absent from the spot, and engaged in war. Christian protection and hospitality attracted the Patriarch Gregory, and his brother Nierses, to take asylum at Room-Kalaa, where they met with a very kind reception by the Countess Joscelyn, to whom they gave spiritual consolation.

Count Joscelyn fell in battle, and the Countess returned to Europe: she left the castle in charge of the Armenian Patriarch Gregory, under certain conditions. "My lamentable widowhood (she said) obliges me to leave you, and return to my country, where I have a son and relations. On my arrival there, I shall send the former to this castle, which you in justice will make over to him. Should he however fail to make his appearance here, it would become your undisputed property. After a short time, young Joscelyn arrived in Room-Kalaa, and took possession of the castle; but soon relinquished it again. Gregory bought Room-Kalaa from him, and thus it became the permanent seat of the Cathokhikos, according to the testimonies of Nierses Shnoorhaly, Vardan, and Kirakos. A most splendid church was raised upon the spot, by the Patriarch Gregory.

In the year 1165, a disposition was manifested to effect a union between the Greek and Armenian Churches. At the desire of the grand Duke Alexis, son-in-law to the Emperor Kyr Emanuel Comnenos Porphyrogenitus, the creed of the Armenian Church was committed to paper, by Nierses Shnoorhaly, assisted by his brother Gregory. On its being submitted by the Duke to the consideration of the Emperor, the latter handed it over to Michael, Patriarch at Constantinople; but Patriarch Gregory died before the intended union was brought to a decision. Gregory was 60 years Patriarch. The subject was resumed by Nierses Shnoorhaly, successor to his brother; but Nierses died before it came to a decision. This great man was buried at Room-Kalaa. Nierses Shnoorhaly, on account of his having resided at Room-Kalaa, received the surname of Kalaaensis, i. e. of the Kalaa, or Fort.

\* I passed Room-Kalaa, when going from Aleppo to Bagdad, in the year 1821. It is situated in Mesopotamia, surrounded by the Euphrates.



Gregory Jiglah, the nephew of Nierses, succeeded. A general Synod of the Armenian Bishops, Monks and Vardapets, or Doctors, was convened at Room-Kalaa, for the consideration of the differences of the sister Churches. It was in this council, that Nierses Lambronensis delivered a most evangelical and beautiful oration, which is considered by the Armenians an unique piece of classical composition in their language. This oration was translated into Italian by Pasquale Aucher, at Venice. Emanuel Comnenos died, and the work of union remains incomplete to this day. The seat of the Patriarchate continued in Room-Kalaa, for the space of 147 years.

In the year 1294, the Armenians suffered a great deal of persecution, from Melik Ashraf, Sultan of Egypt, who captured Room-Kalaa, and made a prisoner of the Patriarch Stephen, who died in Egypt.

A meeting was convened by the Bishops, inhabiting Cilicia, and Gregory VII., Anavarzensis, was made Patriarch.

Room-Kalaa being destroyed, the patriarchal seat was removed to Sis, at that time the capital of Armenia.

Hetham, one of the Kings that ruled over the Armenians in Cilicia, issued a royal mandate, abrogating the Anathema, decreed against Aghtamar's Patriarch. Peace was restored between the Patriarchs of Aghtamar and Sis. A regular succession of Patriarchs continued at Sis for 147 years.

In the year 1440, when the Dynasty of the Reubenites had become extinct, and all hopes of the restoration of liberty and peace to Armenia entirely vanished, it appeared wise, to remove the seat of the Patriarchate from Sis, which was reduced to a most deplorable state by conquerors. An assembly of Armenian Bishops took place at Waghharshapat, and there it was resolved to re-establish the Patriarchate at Ech-Miazin.

Before however this resolution was carried into effect, the throne became vacant by the death of the Patriarch Constantine. Kyr Joseph Sisensis was made Patriarch by the people; a man of obscure origin, and possessed of no talents. He died after he had been Patriarch one year.

By the assistance of a few of the inhabitants of Sis, Gregory Moosa Beg was made Patriarch, without the consent of the Bishops; and maintained himself in his dignity. Kirakus, a zealous and godly man, was made Patriarch of Ech-Miazin. Immediately upon his elevation to that dignity, he addressed letters to all the Armenian Bishops, and openly annulled the Anathema that had been passed upon the Patriarch of Akhtamar. The latter admitted the superiority of that of Ech-Miazin, to whom he pledged his allegiance. Scarcely two years had elapsed, from the appointment of Kirakus, when he found an antagonist in Marcus, a Bishop in Georgia. Marcus succeeded in deposing Kirakus by the influence of a Moslem Chief. The Patriarch withdrew his allegiance to Ech-Miazin, and Sis was not united to Ech-Miazin. Gregory of Maura was chosen to fill the place of poor Kirakus, who died in re-

tiement. From the middle of the 15th century to this time, a regular succession has taken place in Ech-Miazin. The present Patriarch Ephrem is an old and venerable man, and very popular among the Armenians. Oppressed by the Persians, the poor old man took an asylum at Aghpat in the Russian territory, where he offered up prayers, in order that the Lord, who descended at Waghharshapat, would have pity upon his nation, and bring it under the protection of Russia. His prayers were heard, and Ephrem Cathokhikos returned again to the convent of Ech-Miazin at Waghharshapat.\* The Armenians in India are subject to the Patriarch of Ech-Miazin. They are at present an industrious, sober, shrewd, speculating and commercial nation. Some amongst them tried to excite a rebellion against the Sultan, but they are as little inclined, as the Jews are, to revolt against their Sovereigns.

They dislike the Jews, and protest against the assertion of the latter, by whom they are said to be descendants of Amalek. According to their own tradition, Hayk was their ancestor, the fifth lineal descendant of Noah. This nation has no book written on the Millennium, except one by Meden Nerses, formerly Cathokhikos at Ech-Miazin, who wrote a book of visions, in which he predicts, that all the Armenians shall collect around Mount Ararat, before the coming of the Lord, in order that they may not see Antichrist. They deny being Eutyechians, and consider Eutyches, as well as Nestorius, as heretics. Avdall writes to me, "It is true that we adopt the expression of one nature in the Hypostasis of Christ; and this we do from a fear of incurring the guilt of the heresy of Nestorius, who by the admission of two divided natures, ascribed two persons to Christ; which heresy involves a most heinous sin; but it is false, that by that expression we confound the two natures of Christ, like Eutyches." Mr. Avdall has written a vindication of the Church of Armenia, on account of this accusation. I suppose that Eutyches meant the same as Avdall does.

#### POPULATION OF THE ARMENIANS.

Avdall believes that there are 20 millions of Armenians: I think that he is very much mistaken, and that it will be very difficult to make out 3 millions of Armenians. I shall have occasion to speak again about the Armenians, when treating about Cabool and Hindoostan.

#### BOGOS, EX-PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE,

Now at Jerusalem, is in high reputation among all the Armenians throughout the world, at least among the more enlightened party: he has published a work called "The Museum of wholesome knowledge;" and has publicly abolished the pilgrimage of the Armenians to the holy fire.

\* I learned that Ephrem resigned lately, on account of his advanced age.

## SEROPE.

Serope, now Archbishop of Astrachan, is highly respected by the Armenians in India; but not by those round Ararat. He was formerly a member of the Propaganda, and then turned to the Armenian Church. He was known by Henry Martyn. He was Professor of the Eleazarean college of Moscow.

## MICHAEL SALANTH.

Michael Salanth, an Armenian Archbishop at Moscow, has discovered, or brought into notice, an Armenian poem, called the "Muses of Ararat."

The following Europeans, who have written about Armenia and Armenian literature, are highly esteemed by the Armenians in Calcutta, and those of Venice. Professor Neumann at Munich in Bavaria has translated the chronicles of Vahram, an historian, cotemporary with the Crusaders. Avdall wrote to me about Neumann, "The misapprehension of a certain passage in the text, has induced the translator to attach an unmerited stigma of heresy to poor Vahram, whom he says he pities, for a fault of which he is not guilty." M. J. St. Martin and Villefroy are highly esteemed by the Armenians. The Armenians have translated several European writers. Avdall has translated Johnson's *Rasselas*, and Chateaubriand's *Atala*. Mesrop, a young gentleman at Julfa, has translated Heber's *Palestine*. At Venice, the Mehtarites have published in the Armenian convent of Saint Lazaro, English-Armenian, and French-Armenian grammars, &c.

During the twelve years of my mission, I have met every where traces of Christianity. In Egypt, I found the Copts; in Palestine and Mount Libanus, the Maronites, Syrians, Greeks, Armenians and Armenian Catholics; in Mesopotamia, at Merdeen, Mosool, Arbel and Bagdad, I met with the Jacobites, the followers of Nestorius, and Roman Catholics; in Asia Minor, Trebison, Bayazid, and Shoosha in the land of Karabagh, again Armenians; and at Tiflis, the Georgians professed the name of Jesus Christ, and there I met even with devoted German colonists; and thus it was in Macedonia, and in the Greek islands, the name of Jesus Christ was professed in some form or other. Now the reader will follow me in my wanderings from Teheraun, towards a country, where the Gospel of our Lord has never been preached, where the light of the Gospel never shone; a land, untrodden by the Apostles of old, or missionaries of later times. The reader will now see me wandering towards a country, inhabited by followers of the Arabian Fana-tic, and a few only of the Children of Israel; never visited but by wandering tribes for the purpose of plunder, and intoxicated Der-vishes: a country, in which human life is estimated at the lowest price.

Khorossaun is the name of one country: Bokhara is the name of the other country and city, towards which I am now directing my steps.

## DEPARTURE FROM TEHERAUN.

I had agreed with Haje Sheikh Mohammed, the son of the grand Mullah of the Sheah at Herat, who had daily visited me in the British Embassy at Teheraun, to go in his company to Herat.

*September 23.*—The camels came near the British Embassy, where I had resided all the time: my effects were loaded; they consisted of Bibles, a few clothes, and some victuals; and thus we went out of the gate of Teheraun, to wait there, until the whole of the caravan had assembled. Haje Telah Multane, a Hindoo of Checarpoor, whose Hindoo name was Eyshee, and Mullah Bahram, the Guebre, Agent of Sir John Campbell, accompanied me out of the gate. Our caravan consisted of 150 camels and 20 camel drivers. Haje Sheikh Mohammed of Herat, with his wife and children, Ali Akbar and a Dervish of Candahar, were my fellow travellers. We travelled the whole night, and arrived at Hezaar Ameen, 16 miles distant from Teheraun, a village inhabited by Curds. This nation is scattered from Damascus to Khorossaun. The Curds and Arabs being complete democrats, anarchy and robbery prevail among them in a greater degree than under any monarchical government.

Haje Sheikh Mohammed entered to-day at large into the subject of a dispute, which took place in former times between the Benee Abbas, the Sunee, and Benee Fatimah or Sheah, relating to the succession of the Khalifat.

*Sept. 25.*—We arrived at Ivancee Keif, 24 English miles from the former place, a little village inhabited by the Ali Ullahe. Here we pitched our tent, which comfort however, I could only enjoy for a short time. I asked my friend Haje Sheikh Mohammed's opinion about the establishment of sacrifices, whilst he was sitting with me smoking his galyoon. After having given some puffs of his galyoon, he observed, "Abraham saw twice in a dream, that it was God's command to kill Ishmael his son; (peace upon him!) he went then with Hagar's permission to Mecca to kill Ishmael, whom he had bound. The Devil tried to prevent it, but Abraham insisted upon executing the command of God; however, the moment he put the knife to his throat, it did not cut. God the most High sent them a sheep, which he killed instead of him: hence the beginning of sacrifices."

I then told him the Christians' views respecting sacrifices; how that without shedding of blood, there was no forgiveness of sin, and that the sacrifices of animals, and even the sacrifice of Isaac and the death of Abel, were types and figures of the great sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, once offered for us all, upon the altar of the cross.

*Sept. 26.*—We arrived early in the morning at Arradoon, 24 miles from the former place. As an ass of our caravan went astray, we did not move on to-day. An old castle, built by Guebres in former times, is seen here. It is remarkable that in these little villages towards Khorossaun, the Mussulmans them-



selves, as those of Arradoon and Lasgird, speak the old Persian, the *Pehlevec* language.

Haje Sheikh Mohammed came again to my tent, smoking his galyoon; he gave me the following account: "Khosroe Parweez was King of Persia in the time of Mohammed; he was of the religion of the Guebres. Mohammed wrote to him a letter, in which he stated the tenets of his religion: Parweez tore the letter in pieces; Mohammed heard of it, and exclaimed, 'Thus his belly shall be torn.' Khosroe killed his father Parweez, and tore his belly in pieces. Khosroe reigned a short time; then Hassan, Omar's General, took possession of Persia." I then told him of Paul's conversion to Christ, and of the spiritual conquests of Christ. The Affghaun camel drivers, seated near my tent, listened with attention to the conversation carried on between their Sheikh and myself.

#### KEBLA.

The Jews said to Mohammed, "If your religion is the true one, why do you turn your face towards Jerusalem? why has not God given you another kebla?"\* From that time, Mohammed wished in his heart that God might give him another kebla. Whilst one day praying at Medina with a crowd of people, and having turned his face towards Jerusalem, the Angel Gabriel came, and took him by his shoulders, and turned his face towards Mecca; from that time the Kebla was established. I recited then to my Mohammedan friend, the words of our Lord to the woman of Samaria: "The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem worship the Father; but the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

Oh that the Mohammedan world may soon turn their face towards Thee, Oh Temple, which can never be broken down; which once was broken, and built up again after three days! Haje Sheikh Mohammed told me the following story about Cain and Abel: "God commanded Abel to marry the twin sister of Cain, and he commanded Cain to marry the twin sister of Abel; but Cain wanted to marry his own twin sister, married to Abel, and therefore he put Abel to death."

Ali Akbar, a merchant from Candahar, informs me, that there are only a few Jews at Candahar. Poor, poor Israel! Do not you observe, how your brother is going about, and enquiring where he may find you all over the world, to speak to you about the good Shepherd, who came in fulness of time to seek those sheep, that were lost? And I, following my Saviour's steps, am now seeking you in the mountains of Toorkestaun, and Affghanistaun, and among the unkind people of Khorossaun; banished from those ties that are dear to my heart. It is a great thing to belong to the Lord, and to look out for the Lord's people!

\* Kebla is the quarter towards which they turn their faces during prayer.



Haje Sheikh Mohammed continued the conversation, sitting in my tent.

*I.* I like to converse with you, for you are a man of candour, and one who has seen the world; I can learn something from you. Tell me now openly, what do you think about Christianity?

*Haje Sheikh Mohammed.* We do not think it to be a good religion, for the same reason as you believe Judaism not to be a good religion. You believe Judaism not to be a good religion, because it was abolished by Jesus; and for the same reason we believe Christianity not to be a good religion, because it was abolished by Mohammed.

*I.* We do not say that Moses and the Prophets were abolished; but that Judaism was accomplished, and its types were realised, and the prophecies respecting the Incarnation, sufferings and death of Jesus were fulfilled. We believe that sin came into the world, by Adam and Eve's transgression, with all our sorrows and woes; and therefore God promised to Adam, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the rest of the Prophets, one, who should be brought like a lamb to the slaughter, and thus take away the sins of the world, i. e. Jesus of Nazareth. He came, and the religion of the Jews was accomplished.

*H. S. M.* And Mohammed was the Prophet after Jesus.

*I.* How do you know that Mohammed was a true Prophet?

*H. S. M.* By his miracles: he divided the moon; and persons, taller than himself, became shorter as soon as they walked with him; he had no shadow as other people have; he was able to see every thing with his back, as well as with his eyes; the earth opened itself and swallowed up the uncleanness of his digestion.

*I.* (Continuing to question him, for it would in the first instance have been of no use to urge him to produce proofs; and besides this, it would have exasperated him.) How did Mohammed promote his religion?

*H. S. M.* With a few by persuasion, but with most by the sword.

*I.* Does God want merely outward confession, or belief of the heart?

*H. S. M.* Belief of the heart.

*I.* Now suppose, that you go to England, and all Englishmen hold the sword to your throat, and say, "If you do not become a Christian, we kill you;" fear might betray you into an external consent, but this will not make you a Christian in heart.

*H. S. M.* Mohammed was driven to use the sword from the number of his enemies, who, after he had made peace with them, attacked him again.

*I.* This does not alter the case, and the fact, that the sword can never be a means for persuading a man really of the truth of a religion.

#### CALVINISM AND ARMENIANISM AMONG MOHAMMEDANS.

The same question which divides Protestant Christians, divides

the Mohammedans likewise: namely, Predestination, and Free will. Haje Sheikh Mohammed told me, that as well in Affghanistaun, as at Mecca, the grand question among the Mullahs is, "Is there destiny with free will: or destiny without free will?" Haje Sheikh Mohammed is an Arminian, and he answers like Milton, that "Foreknowledge of God does not affect the free will of man."

Sept. 28.—We arrived near the miserable village called Denamak, 20 English miles from Arradoon. We pitched our tent again, and my old friend Haje Sheikh Mohammed sat near me; for every thing had gone on smoothly. He informs me, that according to the views of Mussulmans, angels are creatures of God, endowed with a body like men, but entirely destitute of all the passions of earthly men: no desire of eating, drinking or propagating; always in the presence of God, singing praises and hymns to Him, and executing His commands. The angel Gabriel riding upon a horse, drowned Pharaoh in the sea. The conversation turned upon

#### ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

As well among the Jews, as the Parsees and Mohammedans, it is believed, that Alexander the Great came as far as the Land of Darkness. "Rivers were running around it; an angel with a fiery and flaming sword was guarding it, giving Alexander to understand, that no mortal could enter there; that here his ambitious designs must end. Alexander returned." Then we talked about

#### FALLEN ANGELS.

"After God had created Adam, he desired the angels to serve and worship him; all obeyed, except the Devil, who would not condescend to worship dust and earth, and therefore he was cast into Hell." I myself believe, that Lucifer, like the Socinians of the present day, refused to bow to the mystery of the Incarnation.

Walking this afternoon near the village of Denamak, (for in these countries one never enters the villages, but sleeps always in the desert places, or in the fields) and considering the difficulty one meets with in preaching Christ in these dark countries, my mind was lifted up to our heavenly Father, imploring the assistance and direction of his Spirit. Oh! these are happy moments at all times, as long as the soul is able to pour forth her sighs to her beloved; this sweetens all hardships and all persecutions!

Haje Sheikh Mohammed highly praised the following historical books, written in Persian: Tabaree, Rawsat Assoofa, and Habeeb Ussiar. It is perhaps not generally known, that one Ameer Sheer is the author of Rawsat Assoofa.

#### DEATH OF CHRIST.

Haje Sheikh Mohammed, as well as other Mullahs, tell me, that the death of Christ is believed by some Mohammedans, though

the Koran attempts to persuade, that his likeness only was crucified.

Haje Sheikh Mohammed looked into my journal, and desired me to translate something for him; I translated to him a prayer; he seemed to be delighted with it. Denamack was the last place of Irak.

#### KHOROSSAUN.

*Sept. 29.*—We arrived at Lasgird, the first small place in the province of Khorossaun. In this place, some of the Persians speak the Pehlevee language; for on asking them what language they spoke, they replied, the Pehlevee, of which only a few words were intelligible to me, and this was confirmed to me by the Guebres of Semnan, who spoke the same language, as it appeared to me, and gave it the same name.

#### ARRIVAL AT SEMNAN.

*Sept. 30.*—We arrived at Semnan. Bahman Mirza, son of the King of Persia, is Governor of this place, as well as of Damghan. I had several letters of recommendation to him: one from his mother, the other from Khosroe Khan, and the third from the Sille Sultan and from his brother Malek Kasem Mirza. As His Royal Highness had just made an excursion to Damghan, I sent the letters after him, by one of the Guebres, who were building his palace at Semnan; for the Guebres are to this day skilful in building. The plague was just raging at Semnan; we were therefore not admitted into the town, more especially as the Prince was absent. Semnan is 24 miles from Lasgird, containing perhaps 12,000 inhabitants.

Semnan, Bustan and Meshed, are the only three places in Khorossaun, governed by royal Princes of Persia; all the rest of Khorossaun is ruled by Khans, who, up to the time of my arrival in Khorossaun, were only slightly subject to the King of Persia. Every village in this country is fortified, on account of the continual invasions of the Turkomans, of which I shall have occasion to speak more at large.

The Khans keep this country in continual disturbance by feuds among themselves; some of them being in secret understanding with the Turkomauns. Even Bahman Mirza, the Prince Governor of Semnan, had just gone to Damghan, for the purpose of driving out from thence Mohammed Ali Khan, whom he placed there as Vice Governor, and who had rebelled against his authority; he succeeded in driving him out, but that Governor retired to a fortress, called Dawlat-Abad. Bahman Mirza marched with 1000 men, for the purpose of driving him from thence; but Arghuwan Mirza, the son of Hassan Ali Mirza, late Prince Governor of Meshed, though nephew of Bahman Mirza, assisted Mohammed Ali Khan against Bahman Mirza, so that the latter was obliged to retire from Dawlat-Abad.

The Guebres of Semnan were very kind to me; I preached the Gospel to them. These amiable people have still their ancient

Parsee names: as Key Khosroe, Shahr-Baar, Jamsheed, Bijand, Mehraboo, Rostam, Rasheed, Seroosh, &c.

*October 1.*—We arrived in the caravan-seray of Aghwan, 24 miles from Semnan. Imam Resa is said to have performed a miracle here.

*Oct. 2.*—We arrived near Dawlat-Abad, the place of the rebel Mohammed Ali Khan; who says however, that as soon as the King shall order him to deliver Dawlat-Abad to Bahman Mirza, he will be ready to do so: but it is said, that Mohammed Ali Khan had bribed the King, so that he did not send such an order. Mohammed Ali Khan ordered the gates of Dawlat-Abad to be shut; and in case Bahman Mirza should pass the town on his way from Damghan to Semnan, salutes should be fired; but His Royal Highness should not be permitted to come into town. I learnt that Abbas Mirza was expected to come to Khorossaun, on his way to Khiva and Bokhara.

#### DEFINITION OF AN EASTERN KING.

Haje Sheikh Mohammed gives me the following definition of an Eastern King. “A tyrant, who robs others of their property, commits violence, eats and drinks well, blackens his beard, and does nothing for the good of his country.”

#### ARRIVAL OF BAHMAN MIRZA.

Bahman Mirza passing my tent, told me that he had received letters respecting me, and therefore gave me a letter of recommendation to his brother Ismael Mirza, Prince Governor of Bustan. He left an officer to accompany me as far as Damghan.

In the evening I arrived at Damghan, where I took up my abode with Mohammed Wale Khan, the Vice-Governor of Damghan. I met there Abbas Khan, of the Kajar tribe; the same tribe as that of Fatullah Shah.

The people coming to Mohammed Wale Khan, had the appearance of being in a disturbed state of mind; they were continually expressing apprehensions of Mohammed Ali Khan of Dawlat-Abad surprising the town at night, and whilst they were talking, soldiers of Mohammed Ali Khan had actually made an attempt to enter the town, but soon after retired.

Mohammed Wale Khan asked me the difference between those Christians who have beards, and those who have none. I told him, that among Europeans, Friars only have beards. I told him the object of my travels, and offered Mohammed Wale Khan a Bible; but he declined my offer. Hitherto the people have been rather kind to me than otherwise.

#### SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF DAMGHAN.

Damghan is at present inhabited by 5000 Mussulmans, mostly Khorossaun people, and a few Turkomauns.

Damghan is said to have been built by King Hushenk, 5247 years ago. It was formerly a flourishing city, but was ruined by

the tyranny of Nadir Shah, and after his death, Assad Khan of Cabool came, and carried the inhabitants of Damghan captives to Cabool.

Balk in Bactria, Nishapoor and Damghan in Khorossaun, are considered by the Mussulmans of Khorossaun, to be the most ancient cities in the world. Around Dawlat-Abad, Damghan, Sharoot and Boostan, the country is beautiful; it is a complete paradise, full of vineyards and pomegranate trees.

Oct. 4.—I set out for Boostan, a city built fifty years ago. The castles which are found in every village of Khorossaun, are called by the natives Ark, which seems to correspond with the English word *ark*, and the German *arche* (the name of Noah's ship); or else they are called Boorg, which corresponds with the English and the German word *burg*.

We passed the village called Kaker Abad, where formerly a Vizier of Nadir Shah resided. We came near Haddada, governed by Mohammed Mokeem Khan. Just before we approached the place, we saw a Khorossaun Mussulman running swiftly, saying that his wife had run away with another man. We rode after him, to see what he would say to her; for she was not distant from us. On meeting her, he spoke kindly to her, and persuaded her to go back with him. She was, as the Persians call such women, a Cowly (a loose character); she sat upon her ass, and rode back. This reminded me of Judges xix. 3.

#### ARRIVAL AT HADDADA.

On our entering the Fort of Haddada, Mokeem Khan, escorted by his whole train of servants, came out to meet me, and gave me a welcome, brought me to a comfortable room, and was delighted that I spoke Persian. I spoke to them about the efficacy of prayer.

The Mehmundar,\* who was sent with me to Haddada, had orders from Bahman Mirza, to kill the horses of Mohammed Ali Khan of Dawlat-Abad, if he should ever meet with one of his horsemen. When staying with Mokeem Khan, one of the horsemen of Mohammed Ali Khan was there, but was concealed by Mokeem Khan.

#### KHANS OF KHOROSSAUN.

In order to give a distinct idea of those Khans (Lords) in Khorossaun, I think it well to mention, that these hereditary and feudal Lords of Khorossaun, exactly resemble the feudal Lords of Germany in ancient times. They pay a yearly tribute, consisting of horses, to the Shah of Persia; but every Khan governs in his own city, and has power of life and death over his subjects. They are continually at war among themselves. The neighbouring Turkomans take advantage of this, to invade Khorossaun, and carry away slaves to Khiva and Bokhara. The following are the names

\* *Mehmundar*, is a servant of the Governor, sent with a foreigner to prepare lodgings. Such servants are given particularly to European travellers.



of the principal Khans in Khorossaun. Resa Koole Khan, a Kurd of the tribe Elkare; he resides at Cochan, and is a great enemy to the present dynasty of Persia. Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarea, a cruel tyrant and robber, who is an inveterate enemy to Resa Koole Khan of Cochan. He sends his people round Khorossaun to make slaves of the Khorossaun and Persian people, whom he sells to the Turkomauns. He is styled the Rostam of Khorossaun. Mohammed Takee Khan of Tursheesh, an enemy to Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarea. Nujuf Ali Khan of Bujnurd, an enemy to Yellantoosh Khan of Nadir Kelaat. Yellantoosh Khan of Nadir Kelaat, a great enemy to Nujaf Ali Khan, and therefore sells the subjects of the latter to the Turkomans. Emeer Ali Nakee Khan at Tabas, a just and peaceable man. Ameer Assaad Ullah Khan of Burjund Kayan, friendly with all of them. Resa Koole Khan Turk at Daragass. Ibraheem Khan at Rad-Khan. Rostam Khan at Tsholaye. Nasir Ullah Khan at Teemor Khaf. Mohammed Zeman Khan at Shahr-Now, or Bakhars, a great enemy to Mohammed Ishak Khan at Torbad Hydarea. Ibraheem Khan at Baam. Mohammed Khan at Juweyn. Ali Moorad Khan at Juweyn. Dost Mohammed Khan Timoore at Goskoon, in secret understanding with the Turkomans. Mokeem Khan of Haddada, my present host.

There are, however, a great many more petty Khans. These Khans, as Resa Koole Khan of Cochan, Assaad Ullah Khan of Burjund, Mohammed Takee Khan of Tursheesh, have Russian deserters as *Tobtshees*, i. e. cannoneers, in their service.

Oct. 4.—I arrived at Boostaun, and delivered my letters of introduction from the Sille Sultan, Khosroe Khan, and Bahman Mirza, to His Royal Highness, Ismael Mirza. The plague was then raging at Boostaun. I desired H. R. H. to send me on with Turkomans to Bokhara, via Orgauntsh (Khiva). He answered that he would do it willingly, if I could give him a written promise, that the King of England would give him after my safe arrival 10000 Tomauns (which amount to £6000 Ster.) per ann. I, smiling, replied, that I could easily give him such a written paper, but the King of England would not acknowledge the bill. He told me, "Then you may go to the Devil." He sent me to Shahrut, to the house of a veteran soldier of Abbas Mirza. After we left Dawlat-Abad, we rode on before the caravan, in hopes that the Prince of Boostaun would send me on to Bokhara: being disappointed in my expectations, I returned with treacherous and wicked servants towards Deh Mullah, in order to rejoin the caravan at Heraut, and my friend Haje Sheikh Mohammed. What awful darkness is in all these places! No Christian will be welcomed now from Boostaun, and throughout Khorossaun, with a smile. Nothing but the knowledge of Jesus Christ will ever heal those people.

On our way to Deh-Mullah, we met with a gang of gypsies, called by the Persians of Teheraun, Cowley-burband; at Tabreez they are called Garatshee; in Khorossaun, Kerishmaal.

## ORIGIN OF GYPSIES.

The common people of Khorossaun give the following account of their origin: "Nimrod commanded Abraham to be cast into a fiery furnace; but two angels appeared, to hinder the execution of it. The Devil said to Nimrod, that he should place near Abraham a brother and sister, who should make the angels blush to such a degree, that they would turn away their faces, and consequently their protection from Abraham. During this time, he was cast into a fiery furnace, but came out from it unhurt. The brother's name was Cow, that of the sister Ly; the gypsies are their children, and therefore called Cowly-bur-band, i. e. the band of Cowly."

We arrived at Deh-Mullah; the inhabitants thereof treated us with the greatest unkindness, and asked my servant, how he could wait on such an infidel, who was unclean.

*Oct. 8.*—We left Deh-Mullah, and arrived at Detshe, 20 English miles from Deh-Mullah.

At Detshe the danger begins, and the reason of it is this, the Mullahs of Bokhara, who are followers of Omar, i. e. Sunnee, issue every year a kind of bull, promising to the Turkomauns of Sarakhs, Mowr and Khiva, the blessings of paradise, if they go and make slaves of the Sheah, or followers of Ali, and bring them to Bokhara for sale. The Turkomauns therefore, encouraged by the Mullahs of Bokhara, which city is emphatically styled the "strength of Islam," annually make Tshapow, i. e. plundering excursions to Khorossaun, and sometimes take whole caravans, and whole villages as slaves. As far as Boostaun, there is little danger; but from Boostaun towards Astarabad, Meshed, Tursheesh, Burjund, and as far as Heraut, their Tshapow extends, and this month of October is just the time in which they make their appearance. Besides, in this part of the world, they never saw a Christian before; those Russian deserters who came here, instantly apostatized from the faith; therefore I was surrounded by them: they were watching every motion of mine; in eating, and drinking, and sleeping; and making observations, how I rose, and how I sat down; I however made them sometimes laugh, by asking them, whether I was not a beautiful man. My servant amused me however by telling me of the miracles of Imam Resa; I spoke to him about Jesus Christ. I examined the words of the Affghaun language, to see whether I could find any traces of the Hebrew in it, but in vain.

Mohammed Hussein was disquieted this night, by the following dream. He told me, that he had seen himself attacked by a tiger, which he was not able to kill, and as the dream was in the afternoon, all considered it to be ominous, and he supposed that the Turkomauns were meant by the tiger.

*Oct. 10.*—We left Detshe, and went towards the south-east. Our situation became now more dangerous, particularly on account of the Belooj; for these people do not make slaves, but they plunder every one.

Abd-Alreheem, one of my Persian servants, desired me to pray

to Imam Resa, who had received the power of bestowing gifts on 72 denominations of worship. I told him that I only pray to Jesus Christ.

The whole caravan were fervently praying, when I suddenly perceived a most horrid smell; I asked the reason of it, they replied, that it was because the people were in great fear.

Oct. 11.—We arrived safely in a depopulated place, called Baghout, 28 English miles from Detshe, and arrived in the morning at Beeyar-Jumand. Here a report spread that I was a Russian; but it was peaceably settled by Haje Sheikh Mohammed, who made them believe that I was an Armenian from Turkey, who was going to see his relations at Cabool.

CONVERSATION WITH MOHAMMED HUSSEIN, ABOUT CHRIST.

I. In which Prophet would you have the most confidence: in one who tries to convince people by the sword of the truth of his creed, or one who tries to do the same by persuasion?

Mohammed Hassein. In him who persuades people by arguments.

I. In which would you have the most confidence: in one who tries to promote his doctrine by *suffering* persecution, or in one who tries to promote his doctrine by *inflicting* persecution?

M. H. In one who suffers persecution.

I. In whose sincerity of belief would you place most confidence: in one who has been forced to make a profession, or one who has been induced by arguments?

M. H. In one who has been induced by arguments.

I. Jesus Christ and his disciples never used the sword, but words, for convincing others. Jesus Christ and his disciples suffered and died for the sake of the truth of the Gospel, which he proclaimed; whilst Mohammed and Ali forced some people by the sword to adopt their religion and put others to death.

M. H. Why are so many miracles performed at the grave of Imam Husseyn at Kerbelay? many a sick camel has been cured at the grave of Imam Resa; many a barren wife has become pregnant there; many a blind man has had his eyes restored, and I myself have a charm with me, such that neither dagger, nor pistol can hurt me.

I. I should not like to see you put to the trial.

The wife of Haje Sheikh Mohammed was taken with a fever, and she desired me to write a charm for her. I told her, that I would pray for her. I prayed for her, and she recovered. I asked to day Haje Sheikh Mohammed the reason of the hatred of the Sheah towards Omar, who was such a strenuous promoter of Islamism? He replied, "You think that you will be able to make all people of one belief; it is quite impossible to effect it." I replied, that Jesus Christ will do it at his second coming. To-day one of the camel drivers turned not his face towards Mecca; another camel driver reproved him for his ignorance, saying, "Ignorant fellow, tell me the name of the mother of Imam Resa." He did not know it; her name was Zobeida Khatoon.

*Oct. 13.*—We arrived at Khane-Khode; the inhabitants came out and asked Haje Sheikh Mohammed who I was; he told them, "An Armenian, who was on a journey to see his relations at Cabool." We continued our journey through a most dangerous road; for Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarea sends his bands about here, to make slaves, and sell them to the Turkomauns.

*Oct. 14.*—We arrived near a ruined castle, called Hizemee. God be praised, we met with no Turkomauns. God gives protection, they all exclaimed.

*Oct. 15.*—We arrived at Towroon, a village inhabited by very inhospitable Mohammedans. They took from the caravan the money for victuals, and hesitated to give the victuals. If they had not been afraid of being infected by the plague, they would have come out and searched whether there were no Hindoo or Christian in the caravan, that they might plunder; but as it was, we communicated at a distance. Hereabouts, as the Persians say, they do not know a King.

An old pilgrim, 80 years of age, joined our caravan, to go to Meshed on foot. He lost, 50 miles from this place, a Sahebgeran, a coin of the value of a penny; he remained behind the caravan, and went back fifty miles, to find the Sahebgeran, and reached us safely the next day, "With the favour of Ali and Imam Resa," as he expressed himself.

*Oct. 16.*—We arrived in the desert place, called Gore Turkomaun, (grave of the Turkomauns) or Jeshme Jehan Shan (well of the king of the world).

*Oct. 17.*—We arrived at Ain-Abad; here is less danger of being taken by the Turkomauns.

Haje Sheikh Mohammed tells me, that Aboo Taleb, the uncle of Mohammed, had found out a place, upon which Ishmael stamped marks with his little feet, from whence the water gushed out. This place is now called Zamzam. Meshede Ali Akbar sang to-day:

"If the fair damsel of Sheeras  
Would take my heart in her hand,  
I would give  
For the mole upon her cheek,  
Both Bokhara, and Samarcand."

I told him that he should rather thank God for having delivered us from danger.

I learn that the Sheah, in case of any doubt with regard to a theological question, appeal to Haje Sayd Baker.

I had the following conversation with three Affghaun camel drivers; one of them was of Cabool, the other of Candahar, and the third of Heraut.

*Affghauns.* Mullah Youssuf (so I am called among them), we know, that you are a Mullah; do you know, that our origin is from the Children of Israel?



*I.* How do you know this?

*A.* Our Mullahs know it, and Mullah Shams at Heraut can tell you more of it.

I asked them the meaning of some words in the Poshtoo, to determine whether it had any similarity with the Hebrew; the word *אור* (*Or*) light, struck me.

*Oct. 19.*—We arrived at Fakhr-Abad, a village with a strong castle. I learn by my Affghaun fellow travellers, that some poems are written in the Affghaun (Poshtoo) language. Rahman is the most celebrated poet of the Affghauns.

*Oct. 21.*—We arrived at Bejistoon, a village surrounded with gardens, and inhabited by a good sort of people, belonging to Mohammed Nakee Khan of Tabas, who is related to Mohammed Ishak Khan of Torbad Hydarea, and therefore the road is safe.

*Oct. 22.*—We arrived at Toon, but slept outside near the village, called Baghestoon (place of gardens); the whole country around is filled with gardens. I paid a visit to the inhabitants of Toon, who declined speaking to me on account of my being a Kafer (infidel).

*Oct. 23.*—We arrived at Serayoon, a considerable town.

*Oct. 24.*—We arrived at Teekho, a miserable village. One of the inhabitants saw that I was afraid of the fire, which fell by chance into the tent. He observed, "This man must be a Jew, for he is afraid of the fire!"

*Oct. 25.*—We arrived at a considerable town, called Hafrees; the merchants here trade to Bokhara.

*Oct. 26.*—We arrived in a desert place. Haje Sheikh Mohammed having declined giving me any of the 20 Tormauns, with which I had entrusted him, I was obliged to leave him, and go myself to Burjund in the province called Kayen or Ghayn. I had a letter from Haje Telah, for Assaad Ullah Khan, the Governor; but he took no notice of it. The town is inhabited by Khorassane, and people of Belujestan, and a few Hindoos.

The camel drivers who had brought me here, having been refused a present, went to Assaad Ullah Khan, the Governor of Burjund, and told him that myself and servant had been in the service of Abbas Mirza, and had run away with 12,000 Tormauns.

*Oct. 28.*—I left Burjund, and had reached Sirchah, when two soldiers of Assaad Ullah Khan came after us, and brought us back, telling us that the Khan demanded all our property, as we had run away from Abbas Mirza, with 12,000 Tormauns. They wanted to put me in chains; but telling them that the Khan would be annoyed on hearing that they had put an Englishman in chains, they soon suffered me to walk, and afterwards to ride; but I walked mostly.

#### SECOND ARRIVAL AT BURJUND.

*Oct. 28.*—I arrived again in this town, where certainly never any Englishman before had been. The two Hindoo merchants gave me kindly every assistance in their power; and thus Abd Resa



Khan of Yazd, who had rebelled against the King of Persia, and who had taken asylum with Assaad Ullah Khan, promised me his assistance.

*Oct. 29.*—I was called before Assaad Ullah Khan; the fort in which he resided, was filled with rough and uncultivated people of Belujestan, soldiers of Khorossaun, and Persians. Entering the dark room, I saw Assaad Ullah Khan upon the floor; around him were seated Mohammed Resa Khan, and several Mullahs; and among them was Mullah Mohammed Jawad, who informed me, that he had accompanied Mr. Morecroft from Cashmeer to Bokhara. I had taken my Hebrew Bible and Testament with me. Assaad Ullah Khan asked me to sit down near him and Abd Resa Khan.

*Assaad Ullah Khan.* What is your profession?

*Myself.* (Lifting up my Bible.) This is my profession: the proclamation of the Bible and the Gospel among the Jews, and to converse with all nations about God.

*Abd Resa Khan.* With what kind of denominations have you conversed?

*I.* With Mohammedan Mullahs at Sheeras, Ispahan, Erivan, Oormia, &c. and the Jews of the Turkish and Persian empires; with Yeseedes, Guebres and Ali Ullahe.

*A. R. K.* Are the Guebres in the right?

*I.* No.

*A. R. K.* Now say the truth, are we in the right?

*J.* I only consider those in the right, who believe in the Bible and the Gospel.

*A. U. K.* Why do you not believe in Mohammed?

*I.* According to the Gospel, none can be as great as Jesus was.

*A. U. K.* Is Mohammed not predicted in your books?

*I.* He is predicted as a chastiser of the evil doers: in his time Christians were fallen into idolatry, and God therefore sent Mohammed to chastise them.

*A. U. K.* Was he no Prophet?

*I.* No.

*A. R. K.* Read me some parts of the Gospel.

I read and translated the fifth chapter of Matthew. He continued, "Read something of the Tawrat, or books of Moses." I read Exodus xv. and translated it into Persian.

They asked me then to write down what I had translated. I then sent to them Arabic Bibles, and Arabic and Persian Testaments. Assaad Ullah Khan promised me his protection, and also to send me on to Meshed.

#### CHARACTER OF MY SERVANT, MOHAMMED HUSSEIN.

This fellow, whom I had long regarded as an honest man, turned out to be a most consummate rascal and thief; but I had not yet found him out; and he, in order to give an idea of the honest principles by which he was actuated, related the following story of his Prophet.

A poor man came to Mohammed and said, "From morning to

night I am in bitterness, for I am not able to gain so much as to buy bread." The Prophet said, "Perhaps you do not perform prayer?"

*Beggar.* I perform prayer five times every day.

*P.* Perhaps you don't fast?

*B.* I fast three months in the year.

*P.* What is your trade?

*B.* I am a stone cutter.

*P.* What has your father been?

*B.* A thief.

*P.* Go and steal too.

*B.* Then I shall be killed.

*P.* Steal with equity, you must practise the trade of thy father.

The beggar went at night to steal in the house of a merchant, where he found ten purses with money, every purse containing 100 Tormauns: he wanted to take all the money: but then he said to himself, the prophet said, "Steal with equity;" so he left 500 Tormauns. He arrived with the other 500 at the gate; then he said, "Even these 500 are without equity, for the owner has troubled himself much to gain 500 Tormauns;" he took 200, and brought back 300. Coming with them to the gate, he said to himself, "This is also without equity; 100 is only necessary;" he brought back 100, and left a 100. Going to leave the house, he heard the crier upon the Mosque saying, "Prayer is better than money." He went upon the terrace of the house of the owner of the money, left the money behind, and performed the prayer with a loud voice. The owner of the money awoke, and went to the terrace of his house, where he saw the beggar performing his prayer. He asked him, "Who art thou?" he replied, "I am a thief." The owner asked, "What kept you from taking my money? how many years hast thou been a thief? He told him his history. The owner married him to his daughter, and gave him his property.

My rascally servant however did not rob me with equity, which I found out afterwards.

#### ORIGIN OF BURJUND.

*Oct. 30.*—Burjund was built by Bijand, the giant, who was killed by the white Dew\* in the time of Rostam: nobody was able to draw his head out of the well, except Rostam himself.

Near Burjund is a mountain, called Baghran, where the sons of many Imams are buried; and the saying is current, that it is surrounded by a talisman, so that it cannot be taken by any power in the world. I learned here, that the city of Yazd has likewise such a talisman.

*November 1.*—Haje Mullah Mohammed Jawad called on me; he is 38 years of age. Twenty years ago, he went to Meshed, Herat,

\* Dew is a genii, who governed Persia in former times.

*Query.* May not the Latin word *Deus*, God, be derived from the Persian word *Dew*, i. e. Genii.

Maimona, Ankhoy, Akhja and Balkh; from thence he crossed the Gihoon, i. e. Oxus, and went to Karshee; thence to Bokhara, Samarcand, Oratepe, Kokan, Cashgar, Yarcand, Ila, Aksoo, Toorban, Seyfan and Joofoo; in the latter place, he found Ameer Assaad Ullah Khan of Delhi, who was employed by Mr. Morecroft, and was put in prison, and delivered by the influence of Mohammed Jawad. Haje Mullah Mohammed Jawad went thence to Ladak, where he met with Mr. Morecroft, and was sent by him to Cashmeer. Mr. Morecroft joined him afterwards; he remained with him one year and a half, and then accompanied him to Attok, Peshawr, Calool, Kondoz, where Mohammed Moorad Beg resides; thence he went with Mr. Morecroft to Balkh and Bokhara, where they parted: and my informer went to Burjund, and then to Mecca, and returned to Burjund.

## KHOROSSAUN.

Haje Mullah Mohammed Jawad tells me, that Khorossaun took its name from one of the sons of Japhet. He gave me the following list of Sooffees in Toorkestaun, which I found afterwards confirmed on my arrival in Toorkestaun.

Sheikh Samaan, Sheikh Attar, Sheikh Abool Hassan Koorikane in Kokan. Sooffees in Bokhara: Khoja Shantias Khaleefa, Naamat.

## NADIR SHAH.

This celebrated conqueror was killed at Abeward in Khorossaun, by Saleh Khan Shakake, and Mohammed Hussein Khan Curd. At the news of his death, Khorossaun shouted for joy, for he had become in his latter days one of the greatest tyrants that ever existed. I had lived the last few days in the house of Mohammed Jawad.

## SHAHR-LOT.

The same Mullah informed me, that to the south of Burjund are the ruins of a city, called Shahr-Lot, (the city of Lot) believed by the inhabitants to be the ruins of ancient Sodom.

*Nov. 2.*—The chief Mullah, Mullah Ismael, Assaad Ullah Khan, and Abd Resa Khan, to whom I had sent Bibles, sent their servants to me, requesting me to point out to them the passages about Christ's coming, and the appearance of Antichrist, whom they call Dajal, which I did.

## DEPARTURE FROM BURJUND.

*Nov. 3.*—We left Burjund, and arrived at Shoosheet, belonging to Assaad Ullah Khan, 40 English miles from Burjund.

Mirza Ameer, a man of this town, came to me, and said, "I have heard that you are going to Bokhara; at Jehaarjoo, in the kingdom of Bokhara, my son Aboo-Taleb lives in slavery; if you can do any thing for procuring his liberty, I will be always thankful to you: he is a young man, 25 years of age; the name of his mother is Khatoon Fanne." I promised to look out for him, and

told him that I would forward any letters for him. The poor young man had been taken by the Turkomauns.

*Nov. 4.*—We arrived at Mohammed Abad, 28 English miles from Shooshot.

*Nov. 5.*—We arrived at Nogaw, 28 English miles from Mohammed Abad. We saw at a distance Turkomauns on horseback, overladen with slaves, which prevented them from coming near us.

*Nov. 6.*—We arrived at Monabatsh, 24 miles from the former place. In the morning we continued our journey, and met on the road with poor peasants in the fields, who were about to retire farther into the mountains, for fear of being taken by the Turkomauns. On perceiving my guard, myself and servant, they believed us to be Turkomauns, and suddenly we heard the cries of the poor women and children; but we quieted them. Oh! that the Lord Jesus may soon renew the face of the earth, that violence and destruction may no longer be known in the land!

*Nov. 7.*—We arrived at Senoo, 28 miles from the former place.

*Nov. 8.*—We arrived at Morandis, 40 miles from Senoo. The soldier who was sent with me by Assaad Ullah Khan, wanted me to sleep there one night in a mosque; but I protested against such a course, being assured, that if it became known in the town, that a Christian had taken up his abode in a mosque, they would put me to death; we slept therefore in a house.

*Nov. 9.*—We went over the same ground which the Turkomauns had passed the day before, with 1500 slaves, captured in the territory of the Khan of Tursheesh; we observed dead horses in the road, and the footsteps of the Turkomauns. After a ride of 40 miles, we arrived at Tursheesh, a strong fortress and considerable town; the place of residence of Mohammed Takee Khan, who lives in a large burg, like what one sees belonging to noblemen in Hungary; surrounded by soldiers, some of them dressed like Russians. I heard here the beating of the drum quite in the Russian style, and found several Russian soldiers. In this burg, I saw a large stable with beautiful horses, which the Khan had taken in battle from the Turkomauns; or as a ransom for Turkomauns, whom he had made prisoners; for as soon as one Turkomaun becomes a captive, the rest either ransom him for money, or exchange him for horses.

Mohammed Takee Khan gave me and my servant a lodging in his house. My servant began to behave in a horrid way, though I had increased his salary; he had secretly robbed me of my money, and was impertinent in the extreme, as is usual with such characters.

I called the next day on the Minister of the Khan, Haje Aga, in whose house many Mullahs and chief men of the Khan were assembled. They offered a galyoon (i. e. Persian pipe) to my servant, but not to me. They had a long discussion on the subject of clean and unclean. Haje Aga was of opinion, that an Armenian was cleaner than a Jew and a Guebre; but he was not yet quite

sure, whether a Frank (European) was not cleaner than the Armenians. Others were of different opinion, and thought that Guebres, Armenians, and Europeans, were alike Najas, i. e. unclean, according to a Mullah of Sabzewar, Fasl Ullah by name. Another observed, that Haje Sayd Baker, the chief Mullah at Ispahan, is of opinion, that one may make use of a galyoon, which was made use of by a Christian. One present exclaimed, God forbid! Another, more liberal, thought that one might make use of a galyoon of an European, after its having been washed. I then called on Mohammed Takee Khan, an old, venerable, and mild looking man; his whole room was crowded; they were just discussing the arrival of Abbas Mirza in Khorossaun. Mohammed Takee Khan, I observed, was resolved not to deliver his fortress into the hands of the Prince Royal. There was among them, Mohammed Hussein Khan, the brother of Abd Resa Khan, who had likewise rebelled against Abbas Mirza, with his brother Abd Resa Khan at Yazd; he was there as a fugitive in the land. Mohammed Takee Khan told me, that it was his advice that I should go on with Mohammed Hussein Khan towards Meshed, or wait until a caravan was proceeding there. I was resolved to go on alone. There are no Jews at Tursheesh. The town may contain 12000 inhabitants.

#### DEPARTURE FROM TURSHHEESH.

*Nov. 10.*—We arrived at Ali Abad, 20 miles from Tursheesh.

*Nov. 11.*—We continued our journey, and met on the road with the above mentioned Mohammed Hussein Khan from Yazd, who made me such a horrid offer,\* that I let him proceed alone. We arrived at Rooshneabad, 28 miles from the former place.

The Mussulman in whose house I slept here, was the kindest man I met with in Khorossaun.

*Nov. 12.*—We continued our journey towards Neshapoor, and arrived near Sangerd. The inhabitants, seeing us at a distance, and believing us to be a party of Turkomauns (for we were in the whole seven persons, consisting of myself, servant, and five muleteers from Tabas) fired down upon us; but we soon undeceived them: the whole village in arms, asked us with a lamentable and half furious countenance, "When will our country no longer be disturbed by those Turkomauns, and by Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarea, whose men are not two miles distant from the town, making Tshapow? (plunder.) When will our misery end?"

I observed, that Abbas Mirza will now establish order in the country. They replied, "Pedr sukhte, God burn the father of Abbas Mirza. He will never establish order in this country; if he had brought with him Arghuwan Mirza,† then he might have effected something!"

\* Romans i. 27.

† Arghuwan Mirza, the son of Hassan Ali Mirza, formerly Prince Governor of Meshed, was the terror of the Turkomauns.



## SLAVERY.

We stopt at Sangerd for a few moments, and having learnt that the people of the famous Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarea were wandering about in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of making slaves, we joined a caravan of ass-drivers and a horseman from Nishapoor. Those ass drivers had laden their asses with dates and lemons for Abbas Mirza, sent as a present by Ali Nakee Khan of Tabas. We had scarcely rode on for five miles, when we saw at a distance a band of horsemen, and heard a firing; they came towards us with their arms spread open. As I was already a good deal advanced before the caravan, I might easily have made my escape; but I thought it not right to leave my servant in the hands of the robbers, and therefore returned. One of the banditti took hold of my horse, whilst the rest bound the others. The one who came up to me was panting in an awful manner, and the match of his gun was smoking. Without looking into my face, he took hold of the bridle of my horse, and said, "Pool! Pool!" money! money! I gave him all the money I had in my pocket; he ordered me not to tell his comrades that he had taken it, and continually panting, he asked, "Have you no more money." I replied, "Yes, I have more in my trunk."

Soon after, I was surrounded by the rest; they took me down from the horse, and exclaimed, "Have you no money?" I replied, "I have given it to your comrade." They began to beat their fellow robber for having tried to keep the whole for himself. I was stripped in a moment of every thing, even of the shirt from my back: nothing, nothing was left to me; it was then extremely cold. They put a rag filled with vermin over me, and brought me out of the highway, where I met with the rest, weeping and crying, and bound to the tails of the robbers' horses. It was an awful sight, to see robbers (twenty-four in number) beating and cursing each other, and beating us poor *Banda*, (i. e. those that are bound;) disputing among themselves whose property every one of us should be. We were driven along by them in continual gallop, on account of the approaching Turkomauns: for if the Turkomauns had found us out, or come near us, our robbers would have been made slaves by them, they being Sheahs themselves. As I thought it would be better that the Turkomauns should take me, as they would have brought me immediately to Khiva, instead of being first taken to Torbad, and then sold to the Turkomauns of Khiva, I made a noise; but the people of Mohammed Khan Kerahe threatened to put me to death, which compelled me to be silent.

During the night, three of the prisoners had the good fortune to make their escape. The Chief, Hassan Khan by name, a horrid looking fellow, with a blue diseased tongue, which prevented him from being well understood, screamed out, "Look out for them, and if you find them, kill them instantly." However, they did not succeed in finding them. About 2 o'clock in the morning, we stopt in a forest; they had pity on me, and gave me a cup of tea,

made of my own, which they had taken. They broke open the cases, belonging to Abbas Mirza, filled with dates, and gave me a share of them. They began after this to put a price on us: my servant was valued at ten, and myself at five Tomauns. The moment they took the money from my servant, I found out that the fellow had robbed me of 16 Tomauns, which he now lost. Some tried again to make their escape, but were horridly beaten by a young robber 14 years of age. After this we were put in irons. Twelve of the robbers separated for the purpose of making another plundering expedition. It was an awful night, cold and freezing, and we were without any thing to cover us. The robbers consulted together about me, whether it was adviseable or not, to kill me, as I was known by Abbas Mirza: for they were afraid, if Abbas Mirza should hear of me, that he would claim me.

Yes, it was an awful night; and what consolation could I have expected from above, from my Saviour, if I had not put my trust and my faith in Him, and in his promise! At such an hour, one experiences the precious fruits of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Blessed is he, who at such an hour knows that Christ is with him, and that neither bonds, nor cold, nor hunger, nor thirst, can separate him from the love of Christ, and that to him he can carry all his wants.

I prayed to that Saviour, and then spoke to the robbers, beseeching them not to kill me, and promising, that on my arrival at Torbad, (to which place they intended to bring me) I would ransom myself with the assistance of the Jews; which I could do, if they would permit me to write something in the Hebrew Bibles and Testaments that I had with me. They gave me those books, and then I wrote in Hebrew shortly, my name, condition, and present situation. The hope of a good ransom prevented them from killing me the first night.

*Nov. 15.*—We arrived at a village belonging to Ameer Khan of the Kerahe; he treated me kindly, and desired Hassan Khan to give him one of my Persian Testaments, which he did. An Englishman was never seen in these parts. In the evening we arrived at Arkhshee, where I was sitting near a ruined house, together with my servant. Ali Khan, one of the robbers, came near me, and put the chains around my feet, and said, "Now you sit comfortably." But one of the robbers, having pity on me, loosed them again.

*Nov. 16.*—They put me upon a wild horse, and one of the robbers, 14 years of age, beat my horse, in order that it might throw me off; but fortunately I kept my seat.

*Nov. 17.*—We arrived near Torbad: it was an impressive sight to witness the families of the robbers, who came out to meet their husbands, fathers or brothers, to congratulate them on their success. Turkomauns from Sarakhs, Khiva and Mowr, who were waiting there to purchase slaves from the Kerahe, came out of the town in order to look at us.

The Hazarah, descendants of the Moguls, another slave-making

tribe, sallied out of the town on horseback, for the purpose of making Tshapow. All these are in understanding with the great Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarea.

Here I had again a specimen, such as I had frequently remarked before in those countries, that liberty of speaking consists with excess of slavery and tyranny.

The first question our robbers made openly to the people of Torbad, in the presence of the Turkomauns and Hazarah, was expressed in the following manner, "How is the tyrant Mohammed Ishak Khan going on? is he not yet dead?" They replied, "No, but one of his sons is dead." *Robbers.* "A pity that he died not himself, then we should be free from that tyrant, and not be obliged to plunder people in the high road, and eat the bread of blood! When will God save us from the hands of that tyrant? No wonder that the just Al-Nakee Khan of Tabas, his brother-in-law, does not eat bread with him, for his bread is the *bread of blood!*" We saw hundreds of blind men and women in the road near the gate of Torbad; the robbers turned to me, and said, "Do you see these blind men and women? Their eyes were taken out by that eye cutting tyrant, Mohammed Ishak Khan of Torbad Hydarea! God curse him, and curse his house; curse him in his getting up, curse him in his lying down! God curse his wife, and the fruit of her womb! And may he, that has made many widows, may he die, that the dogs should drink his blood, that his wives may be widows, and his children orphans!"

I asked Hassan Khan, whether they were not afraid of the day of judgment. He replied, "We neither enjoy this world, nor shall we enjoy the happiness of the other world!" Though naked, they examined us narrowly, believing we might have money concealed about us. Suddenly Jews came out of Torbad; I exclaimed, שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל Hear Israel! (a common exclamation among the Jews throughout the world.) I was soon surrounded by all of them. Hassan Khan had delivered over to them for sale, my journals, beside the Bibles, not knowing what they were. They pledged themselves that I would not run away, and took me to their houses; and thus the first evening, though in a most wretched state, I had them all around me, and I proclaimed to them the Gospel of Jesus, of whose history, sufferings and death, they were quite ignorant.

#### HISTORY OF THE JEWS AT TORBAD.

The Jews of Torbad divide themselves into Meshedee and Yazdee, i. e. into those of Meshed, and those of Yazd. Those of Meshed are only here for trade, their families are at Meshed; but those of Yazd, are those, who sixty years ago had left Yazd, for the purpose of settling themselves at Meshed; but on passing through this place, they were detained by Ishak Khan, the father of the present man, and he gave them every encouragement in finding their subsistence; they are weavers; but the Jews of Meshed who are here, have traded to Meshed since the time of Nadir Shah, and their history is identified with that of Meshed. I went with

them to their synagogues, prayed in the synagogue the Lord's prayer, and read to them the sermon on the mount.

Nov. 18.—I was desired to go back to the robbers, when suddenly I was put in irons, and chained together with the rest of the slaves. One of the slave-sellers, a Curd, maliciously came, and squeezed with the irons my feet still more together crossway. The slaves with whom I was chained together, cursed me continually. Once more I experienced the goodness of the Lord, and his loving kindness, which is new every day. I was brought first with the rest of the slaves to a large house, where there were hundreds of slaves. The Director of the Police came out and said, "To this Infidel (meaning me) you must give neither water to drink, nor a galyoon to smoke, for he is *najas*, i. e. unclean: if he is thirsty, he may go to the well and drink like any other dog." Suddenly a man appeared, exclaiming, "Is no Englishman here?" "Yes, yes," I exclaimed. The chains were taken off: a soldier of Abbas Mirza had arrived with a letter for Mohammed Ishak Khan, ordering him to release me.

Mohammed Ishak Khan gave instantly orders to set me at liberty, which were executed, and the robbers were put in prison; for the tyrant wanted to make it appear, that this had been done without his consent. When I was examined with the rest before the judge, as to the sum of money the robbers had taken from us, and after I had stated the sum, the judge said, "All these are Mussulmans, they lie: for our moral is in a bad condition, but Mullah Youssuf Wolff is a Kafer, he speaks the truth."

I was brought before Mohammed Ishak Khan; he is a tall stout man, with very large eyes, of black complexion, never looking into one's eyes, but always downwards—a deep thundering voice. His sword is continually girt around him, and he does not even lay it aside in the bath: nobody knows where he sleeps. He was seated upon a high throne, all others standing at a distance from him; awe was expressed in the countenance of every one. He asked me how much money they had taken from me? I replied, "Eighty Tormauns." He got it from the robbers, but kept it for himself. He said, "You came here with books, in order to shew us the right way: well go on."

#### MEHROB KHAN.

Mehrob Khan of Bujnurd, the brother of Nujuf Ali Khan, was obliged to fly from his brother, and seek an asylum at Torbad. He desired me to tell him from the Bible, whether Abbas Mirza would restore him to his former dignity. I replied that I knew from the Bible the way of Salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ. His brother desired me to tell him a secret, how he could make himself invisible.

They desired me to read to them several parts of the Gospel: I read to them the fifth chapter of Matthew.



KASEM SULTAN,

An officer in the service of Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe, entered the room of the Jews, and said to me, "Old Benjamin!" I observed that he was of the sect of Ali Ullahe. He told me, that several months ago a Dervish had arrived from Teheraun, who had said to him, "An English Dervish shall arrive prisoner at Torbad, consult with him." I gave him an Arabic Bible. His wife was ill; I laid hands on her, prayed over her, and she recovered. Kasem Sultan came to me daily, and I opened to him the meaning of the Scriptures. A Dervish from Delhi, or Shahe-Jehaan-Abad, as the Mussulmans call it, called on me; he pretended to be 124 years of age. "Thy old man, (Peeree Too\*) has saved thee from slavery: forget not to give what you vowed to give to an old and blind Dervish, 124 years of age, from the city of Shahe-Jehaan-Abad, in the land of Hindoostaun.

To-day I learnt that Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe had sold Hassan Khan's wife and child for 15 Tomauns. It is remarkable, that this great tyrant is kind to the Jews, protects them, and gives them every support.

TURKOMAUNS AT TORBAD HYDAREA.

Sayd Neas of Sarahks, Teere (i. e. tribe) Yatshee, called on me. As I had got back my Bibles and Testaments from the robbers, as soon as I was set at liberty, I had begun to circulate the books among the Mohammedans. Sayd Neas desired me therefore to give him a Bible for his Mullah at Sarahks, which I did. I ate bread and salt with him, and then he said to me, "Now you may safely travel to Bokhara, for if you ever are taken as a slave, I will come twenty days distance to ransom you." He then told me, in the presence of some Persians, "We Turkomauns never take Jews as slaves; for the Jews have a book, but the Guzl-Bash, (i. e. Persians,) are apostates (Keshte) from the book, and therefore they are taken by us as slaves." That this should be said in a place entirely inhabited by Sheah, and governed by a Khan, who is himself a Sheah, is extraordinary.

JEWS OF TORBAD.

I must now return to my brethren, the Jews of Torbad. Those of Meshed give the same account of themselves, which I heard afterwards confirmed at Meshed: viz. that during the captivity of Babylon, they went to Casween, where they remained, until Nadir Shah brought them to Meshed. These Meshed Jews are rich, clean and respectable looking; whilst those of Yazd are poor, mean, thievish, slovenly, and dirty in the extreme, immoral, and addicted to sorcery.

\* *Peer*, old, is the title of an old Sheikh, or spiritual guide, and holy man. The Dervishes use it likewise for the name of God: as in Daniel ii. "Ancient of days."



## NAMES OF JEWS AT TORBAD.

The Jews of Europe are desirous of knowing the names of Jews in distant countries; I therefore insert here the names of some of their most respectable Mullahs. Soleiman Ben Sinun; Daud Ben Eliahu; Aba Ben Bakhtshe; Ishak Ben Moshe; Hezkiel Ben Ye-  
kotiel; Isaschar Ben Jabar; Ishak Ben Eliahu; Nathan Ben Rahame; Nathanael Ben Rahmeen; Benjamin Ben Rahmeen; Abraham Ben Mullah Daniel; Mathatia Ben Moshe; Yakoob Ben Hamoom-  
mee; Zachariah Ben Eliahu; Daniel Ben Mullah Haym; Moshe Ben Aga Shemaan.

Notwithstanding they knew my belief in the New Testament, they called me up on Saturday to read in the 'Torah (i. e. the Law of Moses) like the rest. They have a small room as a synagogue.

Mullah Aba Ben Bakhtshe from Yzad is their Rabbi; he permitted me to preach about Isaiah liii. I heard then the following exposition given by him upon Genesis xxxviii. 18. "I demand 'thy signet,' i. e. the King Messiah; I demand 'thy bracelets,' i. e. the emblem of Judges; I demand 'thy staff,' i. e. the emblem of officers. This is the reason for which Judah said, 'Tamar is more righteous than I,' for she hoped in the promised Messiah."

Is it not remarkable, that at Burjund, as well as at Torbad, where I was in difficulties, I should have had more opportunity of preaching, than any where else in Khorossaun, except at Meshed.

## DEPARTURE FROM TORBAD.

The road from Torbad Hydarea to Meshed was closed up for two years; but as Abbas Mirza had entered Khorossaun, Mohammed Khan made arrangements for facilitating the caravans proceeding to Meshed; and a large caravan set out for Meshed. On December 1, we arrived at Pygoda-Bedar, 16 miles from Torbad.

*Dec. 2.*—We arrived at Rabat Safeed, 24 miles from Pygoda-Bedar.

*Dec. 3.*—At Shereef-Abad, 24 miles from the last place.

We had scarcely entered the fort Shereef-Abad, when a scream of men, women and children, was heard exclaiming continually, "Tshapow! Tshapow! Tshapow!" For the Hazara from Shahr-Now, whose chief had been killed in a most treacherous manner, with a great number of his people, by Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe, had sworn death and destruction to all his subjects.\* They made some prisoners, and killed 80 sheep; this determined us to stop longer at Shereef-Abad. One of the poor women of Shereef-Abad called on me, and said that one of her sons had been made a slave, and asked if I could do something to procure his

\* Mohammed Ishak Khan married the daughter of the Chief of Shahr-Now, and during the celebration of the wedding, he gave orders to massacre the Chief of Shahr-Now and all his relations and attendants; and after this, Mohammed Ishak Khan took possession of the town. But many left the town, and continue plundering the caravans, and murdering every man belonging to Torbad.

ransom: she promised if I would, to perform a pilgrimage to Kerbelay, for the benefit of both herself and me. On leaving Shereef-Abad, one of the caravan beat me, and said, "Say, God is God, and Mohammed the Prophet of God." I replied with the greatest calmness, but without reflecting, "I cannot tell a lie." These fanatics, instead of being enraged at this, burst into a fit of laughter, and said, "Let the fool alone."

Approaching Meshed, we observed the golden and splendid cupola upon the mosque of Imam Resa. All the Mussulmans stopt and offered up a prayer, and exclaimed, "Oh Imam Resa, thou bestower of gifts, give to thy dogs abundance of gifts, for we come from a distant country; and we curse Omar, Osman and Abu-Bekr!"

Hezekiel, the Jew from Torbad, who was my fellow traveller, said, "We shall soon thus salute the temple of Jerusalem." Twenty thousand pilgrims of the Sheah persuasion perform every year their pilgrimage to Meshed, to the tomb of Imam Resa.

#### ARRIVAL AT MESHED.

*Dec. 5.*—We arrived safely at Meshed. I went immediately to His Royal Highness Ahmed Ali Mirza, who is one of the King's sons by a Jewess. I was with him two hours, but he offered me nothing, and merely sent me to the house of the Jew Meshiakh Ajoon, called Mullah Mohde by the Mussulmans; he has the title of Nassi among the Jews. He calls himself a descendant of Bezaleel of the tribe of Judah; he is a man of very amiable character, but of a singular turn of mind. I told him that I was a Jew from England, but that I believed in Jesus of Nazareth. He told me, that he was in possession of the New Testament in Hebrew, brought here by the Jew Nisan Azariah Kohen, when he returned from Wilna. He opened his mind to me almost immediately, and asked me, whether I had any knowledge of the Sooffees; I replied in the affirmative, and observed, that I had been at Sheeras, where I had seen the son of Mirza Aboul Kasem, who had been the head of the Sooffees. Mullah Meshiakh, called Aga Mohde by the Mohammedans, was quite overjoyed, and told me, that I should find many Sooffees among the Jews of Meshed.

He gave me to understand, that the Jewish Sooffees of Meshed have as their Moorsheed\* Mohammed Ali. They acknowledge Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, and 124000 Prophets, without feeling themselves bound to act under the control of any one of these Prophets; and those crimes, considered as crimes in a revealed book, are not crimes with Sooffees: as drunkenness, adultery and other worse crimes: they think that to one that is perfect, none of these things can do any harm. They smoke (as the Sooffees among the Mohammedans, and as the Dervishes do) a kind of intoxicating plant, in order to withdraw their mind from the world; each sings

\* I have already observed, that Mussulmans have particular spiritual guides, to whom they give the name of Moorsheed.

the song of his beloved object, and strives to become absorbed in the contemplation of this universe, which is, as they say, God.

The Jewish Sooffees, have a poem in Persian, written with Jewish-Persian characters,\* called Youssuf Usoleikha, i. e. Joseph and Soleikha, describing the love of Soleikha, the wife of Potiphar, to Joseph. They are in possession of Hafiz, written in Jewish-Persian characters. The wine, Mullah Meshiakh observed, of which Hafiz sang, is the mystical wine of truth. Mullah Pinehas, Mullah Eliahu, Mullah Nissin, Abraham Moshe, and Meshiakh Ajoon, belong to the Jewish Sooffees.

I met here in the house of Mullah Meshiakh with an Hebrew translation of the Koran, with the following title, "The Law of the Ishmaelites, called Koran, translated from the Arabic into French, by Durier, and from the French into Dutch, by Glosenmacher, and I, Immanuel Jacob Medart, have now translated it into the holy language, written here at Kogen, by David, the son of Isaac Cohen of Berlin."

They read with their Moorsheed the Koran, and other religious books, to find a confirmation of the truth of their systems; for like infidels in Germany, France and England, they inconsistently try to prove the truth of their tenets, from books, the authority of which they are studying to undermine. This mistake, however, is often committed by those, who try to convince Jews of the truth of the Christian religion, by producing arguments from the Talmud.† I frequently heard the Jewish Sooffees at Meshed say, that they had two religions: the Exterior, and the Interior; or the religion of the people, and the religion observed in their lodges. I tried to make them aware of the danger of their system, and of the reasonableness of a divine revelation, as contained in the Bible and the New Testament. I told them, that I believed their system to be a sensual, flagitious science, destructive of every law of society; and that they try to deceive themselves. That they knew they were in the wrong, and that they stood in need of belief in Jesus Christ, in order to be saved. They observed, that I was the second Englishman they had seen, who was attached to the Book; the first was Lieutenant Arthur Conolly.‡ They tell me, that they never saw with their natural eye, Mirza Aboul Kasem of Sheeras; but they had seen him with their spiritual eye. They believe the Prophet Obadiah to have been a Sooffee, and they relate of him, that he had been an Edomite, and turned externally to the Jewish

\* The Jews every where adapt in some sort the ancient Hebrew character to that of the country.

† Arguments drawn from the Talmud, may be used for the purpose of shewing, that there are contradictions in the Talmud; also that the ancient differed from the modern Jews.

‡ Lieutenant Arthur Conolly came to Meshed in the year 1829. He is an excellent, intrepid, and well principled traveller; the misfortune of this gentleman is, that he had no interest with great men; on which account his late journey to Meshed, Heraut, Candahar, &c. was not remunerated.

religion. In spite of their own philosophy, if it may be so called, they believe the legends of the Jews, whilst they decline belief in the revelations.

Mullah Meshiakh, or, as the Mussulmans call him, Mullah Mohde, told me the following legend about Moses. When Moses was a child, Pharaoh one day played with him; Moses took hold of Pharaoh's beard, and drew out the jewels, with which it was covered. Pharaoh said to Jethro, Balaam, and Job, who were viziers at the time, "I am afraid that this Jew boy will one day overturn my empire, what is to be done with him?" Balaam advised Pharaoh to kill Moses; Jethro said, "No, but try whether he has understanding, by putting before him gold and fire: if he takes hold of the gold, then kill him; but if he touches the fire, then it will be a proof, that he will not become a clever boy." Job was silent, but Jethro's advice was followed. Moses wanted to take hold of the gold; but the Angel of the Lord turned his hand towards the fire, and he put the coals to his tongue, on which account he had a difficulty of speech: "I am slow of speech and slow of tongue." Exodus iv. 10. Job, on account of having followed the system of expediency, by not having spoken out his mind, was punished as described in the book of Job. Balaam, who advised his being put to death, was killed.

#### MULLAH BENJAMIN.

Mullah Meshiakh is in possession of a defence of the Coran, written by Hajee Ameen, a Jewish renegado, whose former name was Mullah Benjamin. He has translated the whole Bible into Persian, with Persian-Jewish characters and notes, in order to convince the Jews, that *Moses* and the *Prophets* have predicted, that both Jesus and Mohammed should be sent by God with prophetic power. This same Mullah Benjamin, a native of Yazd, had performed a pilgrimage to Mecca.

#### MULLAH MOHAMMED ALI YSHKAPATE.

Dec. 11.—The teacher of the Jewish Sooffees, called on me; there was nothing in him, which could engage me to like him; he sometimes expressed devotion, which he spoiled again by evident lies. He made me acquainted with the following principles of his. 1. That there is no evil in the world. 2. That to a man, whose mind is absorbed in God, adultery can do no harm, nor any other vice. 3. The world stands from eternity. 4. The world and God is one and the same thing. There are several other Mussulmans hereabouts of this opinion; as Hajee Abd Raheem at Damghan; Mullah Yahya at Meshed; Aga Mohammed Hussein-Yoos Bashee, with the surname of Amboranee; Mullah Mohammed Ali Waled Baaker of Meshed. It may be useful to a traveller to know the names of these Sooffees; for there is a kind of liberality (though somewhat interested) about them, which may facilitate the progress of a Christian or European traveller. With a glass



of wine, or a piece of ham, one may acquire the good graces of a mystical, absorbed and contemplating Sooffee.

It was amusing to hear this evening those Jewish and Mohammedan Sooffees discussing with great gravity, and with eyes lifted up with devotion, the propriety of eating pork, drinking wine, and eating without first washing their hands. I then spoke to them in the following manner: "It is of small moment to eat pork or to drink wine. 'The kingdom of God does not consist in meat and drink, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;' but righteousness cannot consist with this system of silencing the conscience, by considering as right, what is bad in itself, and has been considered bad by all men, possessing the least feeling of conscience; men easily can deceive themselves, and believe that to be devotion, which is really nothing else but a sensual, brutish desire, and excitement of the blood."

*Mullah Meshiakh.* What do you think is necessary to believe, in order to obtain the kingdom of God?

*I.* Believe that Jesus of Nazareth, the son of God, died for our sins, rose again, and went to heaven, and you shall be saved.

*Dec. 12.*—Dervish Mushtak-Fars, another Sooffee, came to the house of Mullah Meshiakh, where I was lodging; though a Mohammedan, he is connected with the Jewish Sooffees. He was silent for a long while.

*Myself.* Why dost thou not speak?

*Dervish.* After the religion of Jesus shall be manifested, then I shall speak.

*M.* When shall this be?

*D.* After that Jesus shall have been upon earth, as you now are.

*M.* When shall he appear?

*D.* Five years hence.

*M.* What shall then happen?

*D.* (In a melodious voice)

Thousand hearts shall then be one,  
The lamb and the wolf shall together lie down,  
And Jesus shall then lay down his life.

#### MOORSHEED.

I spoke with Mullah Meshiakh about the duties of a Moorsheed. He tells me, that a Moorsheed does not give lectures, but speaks the language of the heart. Mullah Meshiakh became very thoughtful and gloomy; I asked him the reason of it; he replied, that something had happened to his Jewish friend, a Sooffee, which he could not reveal to me; that friend was endowed with prophetic power, and therefore he must console himself by singing in a mournful tone, the sorrows of the Loving, and his sympathy with the Beloved; which is more sweet than the voice of the nightingale: and therewith, as the Dervishes had done before, he began to sing.

Mullah Mohammed Ali said to me, "All your writing is of no use, if you have not God in your heart."

The Sooffees know each other like freemasons. They speak



with high respect of the following Sooffees at Lucknow in India: Aga Mohammed Hussein; Mullah Mohammed Takee; Hassan Aga Mohammed; Ibraheem Turk.

As soon as a Persian speaks with high respect of the book, called Masnawee, one may depend upon it, that he is a Sooffee; as soon as a Persian speaks about *becoming perfect*, he shews he is a Sooffee; as soon as a Persian speaks about *never dying*, he shews that he is a Sooffee.

Dec. 14.—Abbas Koole Mirza, a brother Sooffee of Mullah Meshiakh, entered the room; he is a descendant of Nadir Shah, but now in misery.

A young Jew of Yazd, Israel the son of Benjamin, is now my servant here, in the house of Mullah Meshiakh; his aged father called on me, desiring me not to persuade his son to follow me to Bokhara; pointing to his grey beard, he expressed himself in the following manner: "My son is the only support of his aged father, and the light of the eyes of his mother, who has lost her sight; and the joy of his own wife and child."

#### NAMES OF THE ORTHODOX JEWS OF RESPECTABILITY.

Mullah Daud, who is the Rabbi of Meshed; Mullah Jonathan; Aga Benjamin Hakeem, Gebeer, i. e. Principal man; Mullah Pinehas, Dayan, i. e. Assistant Rabbi, (a Sooffee in secret;) Mullah Eliahu Dayan; Aga Abraham Serkar; Aga Rahmoon; Mullah Youssuf, &c.

#### HISTORY OF THE JEWS AT MESHED.

Knowing, as I now do, the history of the Jews at Meshed, and having known before the history of the Jews at Yemen, I may be allowed to give a short retrospect of the general transmigration of the Jews, during their captivity at Babylon; and I shall recapitulate it more at large, when I shall have opportunity to speak about the Jews of Bombay and its vicinity, and those of Cochin. When Nebuchadnezzar drove my nation, on account of the abundance of their sins, to Babylon, they emigrated from thence partly to Yemen, whence they declined returning to Jerusalem in the time of Ezra; and partly they went to Casween, Yazd, Sabzuwar, Samarcand, Bokhara and Balkh.\*

When Nadir Shah arrived at Casween, he took the Jews from thence, together with the Armenians from old Joolfa, and brought them to Meshed, where he gave to all of them the privilege of erecting synagogues: several of the Jews from Sabzuwar joined them. Nadir Shah, anxious to know the religion of the Jews and Christians, and having had the design of establishing one religion, accommodated to all religions, ordered both the Jews and Christians, to translate their books of Moses and the Psalms of David

\* This is the tradition current among the Jews of Persia; however, some of them certainly fled from Palestine to Yemen and India, as we shall see afterwards.

into the Persian tongue;\* first written in characters of their own, and then copied in Persian characters by one of the Persian Khosh-Newees, or fine-writers. The Armenians translated the New Testament into the Persian tongue.

Nadir Shah encouraged also among the Jews the study of science and poetry. The Jew Shakem Mowlane, composed the poem, "Youssuf and Soleika." The Jews of Meshed protest against the name of Jew; they want to be called בני ישראל i. e. Children of Israel.

#### JEWS OF YAZD AT MESHED.

Sixty years ago, famine prevailed at Yazd, and the Governor of Yazd troubled the Jews; and as their skill in sorcery and witchcraft did not avail them, they emigrated to Meshed. They are unclean, dishonest, and despised by the rest of the Children of Israel at Meshed, and are considered by them as ערברב i. e. Mixed Multitude, mentioned in Exodus xii. 38.

#### COMMERCE OF THE JEWS AT MESHED.

The Jews of Meshed carry on trade to Toorkestaun; they have therefore the following stations, at which many of them either remain all their lives, whilst their wives continue at Meshed, or come back on every day of atonement, and at the time of the Passover, to Meshed, and then return: viz. Sabzuwar; Nishapoor; Torbad; Shahr-Now, or Bagharz; Cochan; Nadir Kelaat; Dargass. All these are in Khorossaun.

Their settlements in Toorkestaun are: Sarakhs; Mowr; Talkhtoon; Tekka; Tajan; Maimona; Ankhoi. To the two latter places, they have taken their wives with them.

Nadir Shah took several of them with him to Cabool; and since that time, many from Meshed have gone to Cabool; and just now, the Jews from Cabool begin to return to Meshed. So great is the hatred between the Sunnee and the Sheah, that Jews, who have turned Mohammedans at Meshed, among the Sheah, again openly profess Judaism among the Sunnee, as soon as they are going to Sarakhs, or to any other part of Toorkestaun.

#### SABZUWAR.

During the captivity of Babylon, Jews came to Sabzuwar, who afterwards, in the time of Tshingis Khan, were taken to Bokhara, Balkh and Sharh-Sabz.

I continued every evening to preach to my nation, often for whole nights, sitting with them in a very small room, and at times gathering information from them. As I had not yet proper clothes to put on, Mullah Meshiakh gave me some of his.

One day, an odd and singular character entered my room: Mul-

\* On my arrival at Bokhara, I bought one of these copies of the Pentateuch, and sent it to the British and Foreign Bible Society, by means of the Right Reverend Bishop of Calcutta.

lah Levi Ben Meshiakh, a Mohammedan at Meshed, and a Jew whenever he goes to Sarakhs; his wife and children still professing the Jewish religion. He came to me and asked me, whether I would not go to his house to bathe; as he keeps a bath for Jews and travellers who come here; for the Mussulmans here do not admit a Christian or a Jew to their bath. I promised to go the next day. This same Mullah Levi Ben Meshiakh, was at Kashmeer; he told me the story, (which I after this heard confirmed at Kashmeer,) that there is a mountain there, called Solomon's Throne,\* and that Asaph is buried there. A great many traditions prevail among the Mohammedans respecting Asaph.

## AFFGHAUNS.

Aga Levi, and the rest of the Jews of Meshed, believe the Affghauns to be descendants from the Jews. Though I shall treat more in detail about that nation, in my journals about Affghanistaun, yet I will say here, what I previously heard about them. Aga Levi tells me, that the tribes of Benjamin, Simeon and Joseph, were carried to Candahar, where they lost their books, and then turned Mohammedans.

Kamran Shah, King of Heraut, of the royal tribe of Soodo, or as they are called in Affghanistaun, Soodo-Szeze, asserts himself to be of the noble tribe of Benjamin.

*Dec. 17.*—I despatched Mullah Mohammed Ali, the Sooffee, as a messenger to Mr. Shee at Nishapoor, stating to him my distressed condition.

*Dec. 19.*—Mr. A. B...., who is in the service of Abbas Mirza, entered my room at Mullah Meshiakh's, and brought me the very necessary assistance of money, advanced on my bills by Mr. Shee, and European clothes, which some of the five serjeants in the service of the King of Persia sold to me.

## ABBAS MIRZA.

*Dec. 22.*—I was introduced to His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza. His Royal Highness was seated upon a Persian Divan, in a small room; Mirza Abool Kasem, his Kayem Makaam, or Chief Minister, and Mirza Baba, the Hakeem Bashee, i. e. Chief Physician, who introduced me to his Royal Highness, were standing opposite to him, leaning on the wall, according to the Persian custom, with their hands upon their breasts. H. R. H. asked me to sit down at a little distance from him, and after having enquired the state of my health, and the time I had left England, he said, that he sincerely regretted the misfortune I had met with in Kho-rossaun, and sympathized with me; but this amiable Prince added, "Such adventures belong to the life of a wandering Dervish, who goes about as a man of God." He said to me, "As you now intend to go to Bokhara, speak to the King of Bokhara, and try to convince him, that it is sinful to make slaves of one's fellow crea-

\* There is another mountain of the same name near Kokan.

tures, and you may tell him, that I have no intention of conquering Bokhara, but I mean to put a stop to slavery!" His Royal Highness reminded me after this of his having given me a written permission, when in Persia five years before, to establish a school at Tabreez, and said, that his desire of seeing his nation civilized, remained unaltered. H. R. H. promised me every assistance in his power, in forwarding me safely to Bokhara. He then began to speak with me about the exertions of Sultan Mahmood, and expressed a wish, that I should converse one day with Jews and Mussulmans, in his room, and in his presence.

#### MIRZA MOHAMMED ALI.

I went to the house of Mirza Mohammed Ali, the Vice Governor of Meshed, with whom I had a long conversation about our Lord Jesus Christ, and wrote to him after this a letter on the glorious advent of our Lord Jesus Christ.

#### PRINCIPAL MULLAHS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS AT MESHED.

Mirza Hadayat Ullah, Mujtehed, i. e. one who fights for the faith of Islam; Mirza Hashem, Mujtehed; Mirza Askeree, Mujtehed; Haje Seyd Mohammed, Mujtehed; Haje Mullah Mohammed, Mujtehed; Mullah Abd-Alwehab, Munajam, i. e. Astrologer; Haje Mullah Ali, Astrologer; Mirza Mohammed, Peysh Nemaz, i. e. Leader of the prayer; Mullah Shamsa; Mirza Abd-Ullah.

#### MOSQUE OF IMAM RESA.

Imam Resa was poisoned in the city of Toos, by the son of Haroon Rasheed. The poison was said to have been given him in a grape. From that time, the city of Toos, or rather the city, which formed itself near Toos, received the name of Meshed, which means "Place of martyrdom." Gowher Shahd, a woman of the descendants of Tamerlane, erected the splendid Mosque, now called the Mosque of Imam Resa. I refer my readers to the description of that Mosque given by Mr. Fraser.

#### PRINCIPAL COLLEGES AT MESHED.

1. Goombaz Bareka-Imam Resa, which contains two divisions: the College of Mirza Jaafr, and that of Mullah Mohammed Baker.
2. College of Fasl-Khan.
3. College of Haje Hassan, and several smaller ones.

#### HOSPITALS.

Beemar Khane, Gadamgah Hazrat; and Madbakh Hazrat.

*Dec. 28.*—His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza desired the Jews of Meshed, to discuss the subject of religion with me in his presence.

The Jews here are now in great trouble, being obliged to lodge a few officers in their houses: but I think it is foolish of them; for if the officers were not with them, the common soldiers would commit mischief among them; but it is the case with the Jews all over the world, they consider the least inconvenience as a Gesera,



(גזירה) severe dispensation, or Galooth (גלות) i. e. punishment in captivity. I sometimes go with them to their synagogue, wearing the talis, i. e. veil, and tefilin, i. e. frontlets, and read aloud in the Law of Moses, and then preach to them. They asked me to-day, whether the King of England was subject to the King of Persia, and whether the English people live in tents?

MIRZA HADAYAT ULLAH, MUJTEHED OF MESHED.

*January 13, 1832.*—I called on Mirza Hadayat Ullah, Mujtehed of Meshed; Mirza Ahmed Naser, Mirza Abd Ullah, and other principal Mullahs of Meshed were there. Mirza Hadayat Ullah, a gentleman, 65 years of age, received me in the kindest manner, ordered the galyoon and tea to be brought, and said to me, that he wished one of these days to enter into a religious discussion with me about Islamism; but as to day was Friday, he wished to make only a few observations, and have a quiet conversation with me. He shewed me a complete Arabic translation of the Bible, of which he had been in possession for several years. He told me that he wished me to become a Mohammedan, not in words merely, but in principle, for only such a one is a true Mohammedan. I told him that the sentiment he expressed was somewhat like that expressed by Christ, "Not he that saith Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he, that doth the will of my Father." I said I was rejoiced to observe, that he insisted upon religion being embraced upon principle, and in case he could convince me from the Bible that Mohammed was a Prophet, I should acknowledge him. However this was too difficult a task for him; he therefore, as most of the Mussulman Mullahs do, appealed to different commentators of the Coran. I saw him again in the palace with Abbas Mirza, in whose presence I discussed the subject again.

*Jan. 18.*—Mirza Hadayat Ullah invited me again to his house; the room was crowded, even Jews were present, and I had the great privilege of being allowed to proclaim the tidings of salvation to him and all the Mullahs of Meshed. I then asked why they worshipped Imam Resa, as they are commanded by the Coran to worship God alone; they gave me just the same answer as the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Armenian Christians would do: that they make a distinction between prayer to God, and honour due to a saint.

At this interview with Mirza Hadayat Ullah, I had the honour to see among my disputants the Mujtehed of Kerbelay (the famous place of pilgrimage for the Sheah near Bagdad, where Imam Hussein was killed by Yazid, the son of Moawea,) and other learned Mullahs from Kasemein and Najaf in Arabia.

CONVERSATION WITH JEWS AND MUSSULMANS, IN THE HOUSE OF  
MULLAH MOHAMMED ALI.

*Jan. 22.*—Several Jewish Mullahs, and Mussulman Sayd,\* and

\* Sayd is the title of a Mussulman, who is of the family of Mohammed.



Mullahs assembled in the house of Mullah Mohammed Ali. Mullah Pinehas, the Dayan, or assistant to the chief Rabbi, who is a Sooffee, was present; here I saw him, to my great surprise, eating with Mullah Mohammed Ali.

I read Matthew chap. v. 8. I desired Mullah Pinehas to translate every verse (for I read it in Hebrew) into Persian, which he was able to do better than I could have done.

The Mohammedan Mullahs entered then into a conversation with me about the divine origin of the Coran. Several of the Mohammedans present had the candour to confess, that I had had the advantage in the argument. Whilst I was sitting with these people, Mirza Hadayat Ullah, the Mujtehed, sent to me four letters of introduction for Bokhara and Cabool; a proof, that my conversation with Mohammedans here, has not only not exasperated them, but even gained their good will. In the evening I called on Mirza Moosa Khan, the brother of Mirza Abool Kasem, the Kayem Makaam, (i. e. prime minister,) of Abbas Mirza. I found there the son of Mirza Hadayat Ullah, who attacked me immediately, and a conversation of several hours took place. It is curious to see the self-conceit of a son of a Mujtehed: he talked with an air of consequence about the learning of the Oriental Mullahs, and a contempt of European learning, which was quite ridiculous, whilst his whole learning consisted in the knowledge of some legends about Mohde and Imam Hussein, and some commentaries on the Coran.

#### MIRZA ABOOL KASEM, KAYEM MAKAAAM OF ABBAS MIRZA.

This man is considered to be the greatest Persian scholar throughout Persia; he is capable of writing a letter beginning at the end, and ending at the beginning; and of writing a letter without once making use of any letter which has points.

#### LONG CONVERSATION WITH HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ABBAS MIRZA.

I give now a conversation I had with His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza, and which I communicate with his permission. Hearing that I was outside the room waiting till he had performed his prayer, he called out: "Mullah Wolff, come in, for a Mullah may be present at prayer." Before he began his prayer, he asked me about the divinity of Jesus Christ. I replied, that we do not believe, that the body of Jesus was God, but the fulness of the Godhead lived in him bodily; that one God displayed a threefold agency, in creating, redeeming, and sanctifying us; and these threefold agencies we call Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God. After this, he performed his prayer, and then observed the difference of position in prayer between the Sheah and the Sunnee; that the Sheah stands before God, like a soldier before his superior officer, with his hands bent towards the ground, and a Sunnee with his hands at his breast. I then asked His Royal Highness, why the British nation has no longer that influence in Persia, which they had in former times? H. R. H. answered, "To which of the English should I give my confidence? the British nation entirely neglects

us Persians: they have never sent a full Ambassador since the time of Sir John Malcolm, and Sir Gore Ouseley, at which time the English nation was respected. After the departure of those Ambassadors, the British Government relaxed in their interest for the integrity of the Persian Empire. They sent Sir John Mac Donald, who of course had not that power of acting, which the British Ambassador at Constantinople exercised at the moment the Russians intended to approach that capital, preventing the Russians from advancing one step farther towards the capital of the Ottoman Empire, ordering them to stop their proceedings in the name of GEORGE IV."

"Before the arrival of Sir John Mac Donald, Sir Henry Willock had been with us: I desired him to tell me candidly, whether the Russians or the Persians were in the right with regard to the declaration of war; if he thought that the Persians were in the wrong, they would desist from making war with the Russians; but he gave not the least answer either in favour of Russia or Persia, and Sir Henry Willock acted very consistently with his situation, for he was not a full Ambassador; had there been a full Ambassador, he would have told us in the first instance, that we were in the wrong: in the second instance, after the war had taken place, he might have acted as the British Ambassador at Constantinople did; besides this, the British Envoys in Persia, with whomsoever we might wish to talk on matters of higher importance, are frequently changed, and they justly object, that they are not 'Plenipotentiary Ministers.' I assure you, that I myself have every confidence in the British Government, and most cordially so; but I must confess, that since the English have treated the cause of Persia slightly, they are not so much respected by the generality of Persians, as they were in former times; what difference would it make with regard to the expense to send an Ambassador Extraordinary? the advantage derived from it would be, that every respect and regard would be paid to them, and they would inspire the Persians with a conviction, that the British Government heartily wishes to be on amicable terms with Persia, and it would be a proof to other Powers, that the British Government takes a cordial interest in the friendship of Persia. The Russians keep a full Ambassador in Persia, and therefore the people naturally infer from it, that the Russians and Persians are on better and more amicable terms, and in more strict alliance, than the English and Persians; and the people, believing that they will gain our favour by it, shew more respect to the Russians, than to the English: thus the English lose ground in spite of my endeavours to prevent it, and the political views of another foreign Power are gaining ground in Persia. Another circumstance has happened, which has turned out in favour of the views of Russia, viz. the taking away of the two articles from the treaty, i. e. the English nation was to assist, or give us a certain sum of money."

"Sir John Mac Donald proposed to give us 400,000 Tomauns, in order that the said articles might be taken out of the treaty; and

he wrote on this subject to the Governor General of India, and thus the matter remained, till the time, when we were obliged to give the Koroas, i. e. 1,000,000 of rupees to the Russians; and Sir J. Mac Donald, knowing how we were pressed for money, offered 200,000 Tomauns as an indemnification for the loss of the two articles in the treaty: we refused, saying, "You Sir John Mac Donald promised 400,000 Tomauns, through Doctor Cormick; and now you offer only 200,000." He said, 'I can give no more,' and induced the Russians not to leave Tabreez, until the 7 Koroas were completely paid; for he himself was conscious, that it was beyond our power to pay the whole sum at that moment, and also knew, that the sooner the Russian army evacuated Tabreez, the more it would be to our advantage; for we might have collected the revenues of Aderbijan. Under these circumstances we were obliged to collect as much money as we could, immediately, and in such a critical moment he offered us 200,000 Tomauns, which we were obliged to accept: at the same time giving us hopes, that he would use his influence with the British Government to obtain the other 200,000 Tomauns. At the same time I procured the consent of the Shah to agree to the proposal. Sir J. Mac Donald died, and nothing was done towards obtaining the other 200,000 Tomauns. Should I not obtain the rest, the Shah will no longer give me his confidence, and my enemies at court will try to weaken my influence, and thwart my prospects. Considering all these circumstances, three objects are lost: first, the money; secondly, the defacing of the articles of the treaty; and thirdly, the confidence of the nation. I have no objection that those two articles should only nominally remain in the treaty, by which I might convince other Powers that I can call for such assistance in case of need; this would be a check on their operations against me, and convince them, that the English take an interest in me. Another request of importance is, one which would be of no prejudice to the British Government, and of great use to me; it is, that they should order their agents to leave to my disposal a certain sum of money in case of need, for the equipment of my army, at the time of the death of the Shah: should I be obliged to draw, I would willingly repay, with great gratitude, after my ascension to the throne. After the treaty was confirmed with Russia, Sir John Mac Donald, on the part of the Governor General of India, promised 1200 muskets, which I have not received. Those promises not having been fulfilled, the minds of the surrounding Powers are prejudiced against me, as well as the Persian nation; and they doubt my having the power of prosecuting my views. Knowing that you are a Mullah of influence, and a traveller, I have given you my confidence."\*

I desired His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza to write to me something with his own hand. As travellers, who have made their

\* I wrote down this conversation in the room of Mirza Baba, who understands English, and he read it over to Abbas Mirza.

way through these countries by disavowing their nation and religion, and pretending to be Mussulmans, have chosen to assert, that the natives did not know that I was a Christian clergyman, and an European, I annex the autograph, in order to prove, that it is possible to travel in those countries as a preacher, and that it is even the safest way of travelling; far preferable to going in disguise, as some travellers in Arabia did. His Royal Highness wrote to me the following in Persian.

“The exalted Padre Joseph Wolff is one of the sincere friends of us Prince Regent. We have seen him before; but this time, when he waited upon us at Toos (Meshed), we paid him much more attention than the first time. He is a truly religious man, and has undertaken a long journey, and full of danger; but he is not afraid of any danger. We hope to see him again well and safe, after he shall have finished his journey to Bokhara, and Mowralnehar.”\*

And now I give the translation of some Persian, written in my journal by Ali Moorad Khan of Jevian, a bigotted Mussulman.

“During the time of the liberal, His Lordship and His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent. In the house of my kind brother Mirza Baba, the chief physician, I met the learned infidel Mullah Joseph Wolff;† in truth, he is a very good man, very good tempered, very sincere, and a good companion. I am delighted with his mode of life. In Holy Meshed these few lines are written, as a remembrance of Ali Moorad Khan, the Governor of Jevian, in Khorossaun, in the moon of Shahbaan 1247.” (January 1832.)

#### PROCLAMATION.

I wrote a proclamation to all the Turkomauns of *Khiva* and *Sarakhs*, exhorting them to renounce their unlawful practice of plundering the caravans, and to repent; and stuck up these proclamations at the houses, and even at the Mosque of Imam Resa at Meshed; for a good many Turkomauns were arrived at Meshed to pay their homage to Abbas Mirza, being apprehensive of his marching towards Khiva and Bokhara.

#### OCCUPATIONS ON THE SUNDAYS.

I always preached at Meshed on Sundays in the English tongue, in the room of Capt. Shee, in his presence, and the five serjeants: Mullah Mohammed Ali, the Sooffee, was also present out of curiosity, though he did not understand one word of the language. There is a certain adventurer from Poland who, with cold blood, told me that he had formed the plan of putting to death the Empe-

\* This is a literal translation of it, not by myself: it was translated after my arrival at Simlah, by the private Monshee of Lord William Bentinck.

† The word *mutrasee* in the original, means infidel; a nomination with which a bigotted Mussulman in Khorossaun will honour a Christian or a Jew.



ror of Russia. A fine specimen of the spirit of liberality of the present day!!!

#### RUMOUR SPREAD ABOUT ABBAS MIRZA.

There is a rumour throughout Khorossaun, that Abbas Mirza had married a Russian Princess; and in Toorkestaun I afterwards heard added, that he had embraced the Russian religion, and that the Russians would assist him with 50,000 men, in subduing Khorossaun by way of Khiva.

#### CARAVANS FROM MESHED TO BOKHARA.

Almost every month caravans are going from Meshed to Bokhara and Khiva, always accompanied by some Turkomaun of Sarakhs or Mowr: they carry sugar, pepper, Kerman shawls, cinnamon, cardamon, &c. From Bokhara they bring furs to Meshed. These caravans are always 40 camels in number.

Mirza Baker, one of the secretaries of Abbas Mirza, assisted me in composing addresses in the Persian language, directed to the Jews of Meshed, which were stuck up on the walls of several shops at Meshed. In these I cited several prophecies respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, and exhorted the Jews to turn to him, as their Saviour. They were addressed to the Jews only; but the Mussulmans also read them without being offended.

#### HAZARAH.

There is in Khorossaun, Affghanistaun, and Badaghjan, a tribe, which ought to be noticed. The Hazarah, a tribe and descendants of Moguls, and of Tshingis Khan; most of them are totally destitute of beards; they are partly Sunnees, and partly Sheahs. They are divided into two principal tribes: Dai-Konti, and Dai-Zengi. The Dai-Konti divide themselves again into the following tribes: Seymat; Kondolan; Mamaka; Pazanghere; Gaga;\* Ezombogha; Baibogha; Laghere; Mirmorag; Palghoor; Etshga; Pasekoy; Parate; Ferotson.

The Dai-Zengi divide themselves into, Sai-foolat; Sate-Kalan; Sate-Mahmood; Avghan-Jejelat; Abagha-Sooffee; Peje-Ali; Peje-Haje; Karakol-Daghe; Meer-Aktan; Maggag or Mangag.†

I am indebted for this information to a learned Turkomaun at Delhi, of whom I hope to speak more particularly, who gave me afterwards all those names with Persian characters, which the Hazarah at Meshed did not do; by this means I found that they spell Gaga and Maggag or Mangag either *majaj* or *manjuj*, which entirely corresponds with the Hebrew גוג וגוג or the Arabic name

\* Is this not the Gog of Ezechiel xxxviii. 2, 3, 16, 18, and xxxix. 11, for it is generally believed, among Mohammedans, as well as among Jews and Christians, that Gog and Magog are two Northern nations.

† See the Magog of Genesis x. 2, Ezechiel xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, Revelation xx. 8. Besides this, it should be observed, that all these Northern tribes speak of themselves as being sons of Japheth.



Gag Magog, by which the Mohammedans understand the same as the Christians and Jews do by Gog and Magog.

In Khorossaun the Hazarah occupy the places Shahr-Now, called likewise Bagharz and Dargass, and the road from Heraut to Meshed.\* They are cruel, treacherous, inhospitable, and vile robbers and murderers.

The Jews in these countries trust themselves in the hands of the Turkomauns, but do not confide in the Hazarah, especially those of the Sheah persuasion; for they share the same character as the Sheah do all over the East; there is, generally speaking, nothing good in a Sheah. Abbas Mirza, and his physician, Mirza Baba, and a few around Abbas Mirza, are honourable exceptions.

#### JAMASHOODE.†

Beside the Hazarah, the Jamashoode live in Khorossaun: a mixture of Hazarah and other races of people. They profess, of course, the Mussulman religion, and are Sheah; but they are in secret understanding with the Turkomauns, and sell Sheah to them. Frequently a Jamashoode will hire a Sheah servant, and on his arrival at Sarakhs,‡ sell him to the Turkomauns.

#### HINDOOS.

Hindoo merchants are to be found at Meshed, at Toorsheesh, Burjund, Torbad-Hydarea, and at Tabas, who are chiefly merchants from Checarpoor, in the Scind country; they generally do business as brokers and bankers, and are reported to be very great cheats, which is their universal character.

#### CARAVAN-SERAYS AT MESHED.

There are very splendid caravan-serays in this place, particularly those for the Osbek, Affghauns, &c.

#### PILGRIMS AT MESHED.

The number of pilgrims at Meshed, who arrive every year at the tomb of Imam Resa, amount to 20000; they come from Lucknow, Delhi, Hydrabad in Hindoostaun, from Cabool and Heraut in Affghanistaun, from the whole of Persia, and Najaf in Arabia. These pilgrims are generally the most immoral people of the Mohammedans.

#### IMMORALITY OF THE INHABITANTS OF MESHED.

It is remarkable, that wherever there are places of pilgrimages, or convents, the people of those places are most particularly im-

\* They are likewise to be found throughout Toorkestaun, as far as Yurkand, and on the way to Cabool from Bokhara, and around Candabar.

† Jamashoode, derived from *jama*, collected; and *shada*, having become.

‡ Sarakhs, a little to the south of the centre of a line, drawn between Meshed and Merve.

moral; as for instance, Mecca, Medinah, Kerbelay in Arabia, Mazaur in Toorkestaun, and Meshed in Khorossaun. It is generally reported, that from the wives of the Mujtehed, down to those of the lowest Mullahs, are all prostitutes; but crimes much worse are committed at Meshed.

The people there are so corrupt, that several of them are regularly paid by the Turkomauns, for giving them notice when caravans are coming, which they may attack and plunder: some of them actually betray their servants and children to the Turkomauns, so that when I wanted to take a Sheah, at Meshed, to accompany me as a servant to Toorkestaun, Mr. Shee and Mirza Baba were obliged to pledge themselves that they would ransom him, if I were to sell him.

Men cannot save themselves: the work of salvation must be carried on in them by the Lord alone: hence, it is not to be wondered at, that a system of will-worship, proceeding upon principles directly opposite to the Gospel, should be accompanied by a more intense degree of moral darkness; whether in a corrupt Church, or in such an heretical apostacy, as that of Mohammed.

#### KERBELAY MOWRWAREE.

A few days before my departure from Meshed, I made the acquaintance of Kerbelay Mowrwaree, a very respectable merchant, who trades to Bokhara; he lived at Bokhara, had left his wife there, and was then himself residing at Meshed. Any European, who would wish to go to Bokhara, via Meshed, should be recommended to this merchant.

Jew Nisim came to meet me there; he has been at Khiva, Astrachan, Capusta, and Leipsic, to which places he frequently goes, to bring Bibles and rabbinical books to Meshed. He had brought the Hebrew New Testament, in which the name of Mr. Macpherson was written, who was formerly missionary in Astrachan, and after this at Alexandria in Egypt. Nisim is a complete infidel in sentiments: at Meshed he is a Mussulman, and a Jew at Sarakhs, Khiva, and on his journeys to Europe. He gives a very bad account of the Jews of Khiva, which account I heard confirmed all over Toorkestaun; they are traitors, despisers of the Law, have Mussulman concubines, and rob foreign Jews, who go among them. The Jews of Khiva are called Mamserim, i. e. bastards, even by those of Bokhara, as Nisim assures me; for all of them left Bokhara on account of their ill conduct.

A conversation about the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ took place, when suddenly one of the Mullahs exclaimed, "There is no God!" He said this, in order to provoke me to an argument about it; but I replied, "The fool saith in his heart, there is no God."

Kerbelay Mowrwaree then said to me, "You are now my friend, and have eaten bread and salt with me; let me therefore advise you not to go to Bokhara; for at Bokhara they are Haram Zadah, (Sons of bastards,) who are capable of killing you." I replied, "When people advised Paul not to go to Jerusalem, he replied, that he was

ready to die at Jerusalem." My friend replied, "Now I cannot answer any thing."

COURT OF ABBAS MIRZA AT MESHED.

The following personages have accompanied Abbas Mirza to Meshed.

1. Mirza Abool Kasem, Kayem Makaam of Abbas Mirza; he is the son of Mirza Buzurk, the former Kayem Makaam of Abbas Mirza, who wrote a book against Henry Martyn. Mirza Abool Kasem is considered to be a great poet; and when he was in disgrace with Abbas Mirza, and not employed during the late war with Russia, he wrote a satirical poem, in which he said of the Persian army:

"They faced cucumbers,  
Like Rustam;  
And they shewed, like Gorgeen,\*  
Their back  
To the Muscovites."†

2. Mohammed Hussein Khan, the Ishk Agase, or Master of Ceremonies, asked me if I could tell him, whether he would become exalted in dignity, and whether his life would be prolonged. I confessed my ignorance as to these matters, but told him, that he would be highly honoured by his Prince and the people, if he acted justly and with uprightness.

3. Mirza Moosa Khan, Vizier, very much devoted to his religion.

4. Mirza Sadek, Nayebe Vizier, or Vice Vizier.

5. Yahyah Khan, Golam Agase, the Master of the Horses; a most immoral person.

6. Mirza Baba, Hakeem Bashee, Chief Physician: he has studied medicine in London, and is the confidential adviser of Abbas Mirza.

7. Mirza Baker, Monshee Bashee, Chief Secretary of State; and sixteen other gentlemen.

ABBAS MIRZA'S SPEECH TO THE TURKOMAUNS.

The deputies of the Turkomauns from the countries around the Caspian sea, and those of Sarakhs and Khiva, came to Meshed, to promise Abbas Mirza, that they would desist from their practice of Tshapow (plundering expeditions). They were standing in the court-yard, opposite to the window of the room in which Abbas Mirza was seated. They were previously dressed with the Khe-lat, or robe of honour, by His Royal Highness, consisting of a purple robe. He reminded them, that there were many Sunnees in his country, especially in Aderbijan, and throughout Persia, who enjoyed complete protection under his government, and none of

\* Gorgeen is a famous coward among the Persians.

† Mirza Abool Kasem has since been put to death by the present King of Persia—Mahmood.

them had ever been made slaves. He further reminded them, that the Sheah believed in the Koran as well as themselves, and performed their pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina, and that it was therefore very unjust of the King of Bokhara, and the Khan of Khiva, to encourage the Turkomauns to make slaves of the Persians; that he (His Royal Highness) had the best understanding with the Sultan of Constantinople, who was a Sunnee, with the Emperor of Russia, and with England; therefore he would first send Ambassadors to Bokhara and Khiva, and if those two Chiefs come to his terms, well; if not, he will bring fire and sword with his army to both places. The Turkomauns on their side promised not to enter Khorossaun any more for the purpose of making slaves, and agreed to receive at Sarakhs one of the agents of Abbas Mirza, who may ascertain whether they keep their word or not. Whilst they were agreeing to these points, a party of Turkomauns came to the very gate of Meshed, and carried away six slaves. Yahyah Khan was sent after them with horsemen, and accompanied by some of the Turkomaun deputies, who led Yahyah Khan on purpose another road, so that they did not meet with the Turkomaun party.

#### CONDUCT OF THE KHANS OF KHOROSSAUN DURING THE PRESENCE OF ABBAS MIRZA.

Yellantoosh Khan of Nadir Kelaat, Mohammed Khan of Tsholaye, and several other Khans, came to Meshed, to prove their submission to Abbas Mirza. Mohammed Ishak Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarea, Resa Koole Khan of Cochan, and Nujuf Ali Khan of Bujnurd, wrote that they would come; but carried on at the same time, (as the Jews, who had good information, told me,) a secret correspondence with the Kings of Khiva and Bokhara. Assaad Ullah Khan of Burjund wrote, that he would come, as did also the Khan of Tabas. Mohammed Takee Khan of Toorsheesh openly resisted, but his fortress was taken, and he himself made prisoner.

#### AMBASSADOR TO HERAUT.

Abbas Mirza having heard, that Shah Kamran of Heraut had written to the Kings of Bokhara and Khiva, persuading them, that Abbas Mirza had come to take vengeance on all the Sunnees, sent Mirza Mohammed Ali, as Ambassador to Heraut, to bring Shah Kamran to terms. Whilst all this was going on, I prepared for my

#### DEPARTURE FROM MESHED.

His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza sent for the sixteen deputies of the Turkomauns from Sarakhs, and desired them to give their signatures, by which they would be pledged to bring me safely to Bokhara, by the way of Sarakhs; which signature they gave. It is very remarkable that semi-barbarous nations have a great superstition respecting signatures; they believe, that having once given their word in writing, they have consigned a certain magic power to that person in whose possession it is.



This belief is current among Jews, Mohammedans, Guebres, Hindoos, and many of the Oriental Christians; and therefore I was frequently accused by the Jews of Jerusalem, and even lately by a Jew at Malta, of having desired their signatures, for the purpose of making them Christians.

As it was, the Turkomauns stroked their beards, gave their signatures, and promised His Royal Highness to bring me safely to Bokhara.

Capt. Shee, Mirza Baba, and the five English Serjeants, accompanied me out of the town of Meshed. I was also escorted by Goolitsh Mohammed Khan, a Turkomaun of the Yamoot tribe, who was sent by Abbas Mirza to Sarakhs, for the purpose of observing the movements of the Turkomauns there. I left Meshed on January 29.

We arrived that evening at Goskoon,\* belonging to Doost Mohammed Khan Timoores; sixteen miles from Meshed.

Jan. 30.—We slept near a village, called Mastroon, 32 English miles from the former place.

Jan. 31.—We passed a fort belonging to Khorossaun, called Karawl, which means 'Guard;' for a guard of observation is placed there, to watch the movements of the Turkomauns. Here is the boundary of Khorossaun.

In the evening we slept in an open field, with shepherds from Sarakhs. Here I met with the first Guzl-Bash† slave, who kept the flock of one of the Turkomaun families of Sarakhs; he was born at Burjund.

February 1.—Arrived at Sarakhs in Toorkestaun.

#### HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF SARAKHS.

Before I begin to speak of my reception at Sarakhs, I must give a short sketch of the sayings of the Turkomauns there, respecting the origin of Sarakhs. They relate that Adam, who had lived his last days at Balkh, came every day from Balkh to this place, for the purpose of sowing seed; and *sowing* is in Arabic, *zara*; hence the name of Zaraghs: but others give a more reasonable derivation of the name of Sarakhs: they derive it from the Arabic *sarak*, to *steal*; for it is the centre of stealing slaves, from the Guzl-Bash and Russians.

#### SITUATION AND DESCRIPTION OF SARAKHS.

Coming from Khorossaun to Sarakhs, about 4 miles from the latter place, a river must be crossed, over which a bridge is built. On the east of Sarakhs, an old ruined fort, called Kalaa, is observable, in which there is only one cannon to be found, of which the Turkomauns do not understand the use. Near this fort, the reed-

\* This place is partly inhabited by Sheah, partly by Sunnee; but both were in good understanding with the Turkomauns, before the arrival of Abbas Mirza in Khorossaun.

† The Persians are generally so called by the Turkomauns; the word signifies 'Red head.'

tents of the Turkomauns are pitched, which they can remove to any part of the desert. There are at Sarakhs nine small Rood-Khoone, or beds of rivers, and near every one of these, 200 families of Turkomauns are residing, so that there are 1800 families of Turkomauns: say, Turkomauns, 1800; Timoores, partly Sheah, and partly connected with the Turkomauns in slave trade, 100; Hazarah, 200: Gulz-Bash slaves, 200 families, or 1000 souls; and two Russian slaves with their families. One of those Russian slaves is 90 years of age, and was taken on his way to Bokhara, fifty years ago. Yellantoosh Khan of Nadir Kelaat, one day in unison with Resa Koole Khan of Cochan, went with an army of Khorossaun people to Sarakhs; for the purpose of taking possession of it; they crossed the river safely, and on their arrival at Sarakhs, found several horses and camels, which the Turkomauns were not able to take with them on their flight through the desert. Yellantoosh Khan and Resa Koole Khan intended to return with their spoil to Khorossaun, when they found the bridge by which they had passed the river, broken down; and at the same moment, the Turkomauns coming up on horseback, massacred the Khorossaun army. Resa Koole Khan saved himself by swimming, but Yellantoosh Khan was made prisoner, and was obliged to restore 60 Turkomauns, which he had kept as prisoners, at Nadir Kelaat, beside surrendering all the horses he had taken from the Turkomauns, and paying a great sum of money for his ransom.

Before we entered the camp of Sarakhs, (for it cannot be called a city) we perceived suddenly about 10 Turkomauns coming to meet us: they were of Sarakhs. Goolitsh Mohammed Khan went to them; they put mutually their hands together, and exclaimed, "Amman," Safety!

Ballee, one of the Aga Sakal, or Lords with the white beards\* came out, and brought us to his tents: and thus we were the Mehmooon, i. e. Guests, of one of the Turkomauns; and as soon as one is declared Mehmooon of one of the Turkomauns, there is no longer any danger in travelling among them. All the Aga Sakal, or Lords of the beards, came to see me; for I had been strongly recommended to them by Abbas Mirza: they promised me their assistance in going to Bokhara. Many of the Turkomauns at Sarakhs, who had seen me, when in slavery at Torbad, came out to welcome me.

#### JEWS AT SARAKHS.

Before I speak more in detail of the Turkomauns, I must be allowed to speak of the state of the Jews at Sarakhs; since both there and elsewhere, they have been the chief object and motive of my pilgrimage in these deserts, and of my wanderings in the waste howling wilderness of Toorkestaun: for the purpose of reminding thee, my brother, of the promises given to our ancestors,

\* Aga Sakal, i. e. Lords with the white beard; these are the only superiors whom the Turkomauns admit, i. e. their Elders. In the Persian tongue they are called either Ked Khoda, or Reesh Safeed, i. e. White beard, which title is the same as the Arabic Sheikh.

and of the expectations, which thou hast still a right to cherish; for the purpose of reminding thee of days of old, of those days, when Jehovah, He, even He, carried thee on eagles' wings; when fire from heaven kindled the sacrifices upon thine altar, a sweet smelling savour unto the Lord, in thy beautiful Temple; and for the purpose of proclaiming to thee that Temple, which was broken down, and in three days built up again; of proclaiming to thee that *Child* of Jerusalem, that *Rightful Heir* to *David's throne*, who was rejected by his Mother, and harshly treated in the house of his Brethren; on which account Jerusalem, his Mother according to the flesh, became a widow, and his brethren fugitives and vagabonds on earth; and chiefly for the purpose of proclaiming to thee, poor Israel: "Behold, thy King comes, and his reward is with him!" These being my feelings, let me first speak about my brethren. There are eighty Jews from Meshed, who live here undisturbed by the Turkomauns. They came for two reasons: for the purpose of carrying on their trade with the Turkomauns; and, because on account of the oppression which they frequently suffered at Meshed, some turned Mussulmans; but among the Turkomauns they are allowed to practise their religion openly. Every Jew is declared the Mehmood of one of the Aga Sakal: if something is stolen from a Jew, his host *traces the footsteps of the thief*, and brings back the stolen property. When on a Sabbath day a Turkomaun enters the house of a Jew, the Jew tells him, "We have our Sabbath," and the Turkomaun leaves the room instantly. I took up my abode with one of the Jews; Mullah Yakoob, Mullah Michael, Mullah Ishak, and many others called on me. I expounded to them Isaiah liii., Zachariah xii., Daniel ix., Psalm cx. They listened with intense interest; and I hope that Mullah Yakoob and Mullah Michael are sincere believers in Jesus Christ. My preaching that Jesus Christ died for our sins, brought tears from the eyes of the amiable Mullah Yakoob. Before this, he spent his nights in reading Hafiz. I may say that he believed my preaching.

#### JOSEPH HASSEED, OR JOSEPH THE PIOUS.

The Jews of Sarakhs related to me the history of a singular Jew, who lives at Talkhtoon, in the territory of Mowr or Merve, among the Turkomauns. "Joseph Hasseed, or Joseph the Pious, a Jew from Meshed, has retired from the world, and lives in a house with a Turkomaun Priest, (who has the title of Khaleefa of Talkhtoon) where he spends his time in reading the Bible in the Hebrew tongue, and in meditating on the works of God, and in prayer. His head is continually bowed to the ground; no word of disputation is heard from him, no word of contention with his brethren, no lie, no profane word; his teaching is, *to love all mankind*, and even *to love our enemies*. After having read the Bible for many years, he has given up the reading of it, and meditates on its holy contents, and prays to God, in unison with the Mussulman Khaleefa, for higher light from above. He is surrounded by disciples, who follow his steps. He trades only as far as is ne-

cessary for his maintenance. No smile is seen on his countenance, nor tear on account of the death of his friends. Saul, a Jew at Sarakhs, a young man of angelic countenance, was his disciple. Saul became sick; at his dying hour, angels, it is said, came near his bed, who were singing hymns to the delight of those that were present; while white horses stood ready to carry the soul swiftly to the *Garden of Eden*. Saul looked at his surrounding friends, smiled, pointed with his hand toward heaven, and gave up the ghost. Joseph of Talkhtoon was so united in spirit with his disciple Saul of Sarakhs, that he announced it to his people at Talkhtoon, and said, 'Brother Saul, thy love to me was wonderful.' "

The Khaleefa, a Turkomaun Priest, who resides with him, preaches to his Turkomaun brethren against their system of plundering the caravans, and does not accept from them the usual vow promised after their success in Foray or Tshapow.

*Feb. 11.*—Mullah Baba, the Jew of Sarakhs, who was made Khan of the Jews by Allah Kolle Khan, King of Khiva, asked me to-day with great seriousness, whether I was not the Prince Royal of England; for the rumour among the Turkomauns was going about, that I was sent by my Royal father to this country, to watch the movements of the Russians; for they had seen me sitting in the room of Abbas Mirza, with my legs stretched out, and Abbas Mirza was talking with me in the most familiar manner.

The Jews assembled in my room, and sang the following hymn, by which it appears, that the love of their Messiah has accompanied my brethren to the deserts of Toorkestaun. Oh! that love for the real King of Jerusalem may soon be awakened among them, —the love of Jesus Christ!

#### HYMN OF THE JEWS AT SARAKHS.

The King our Messiah shall come;  
 The Mighty One of the Mighty is He!  
 The King our Messiah shall come;  
 The Blessed One of the Blessed is He!  
 The King our Messiah shall come;  
 The Great One of the Great is He!  
 The King our Messiah shall come;  
 The Distinguished one of the Distinguished is He!  
 The King our Messiah shall come;  
 The Glorious One of the Glorious is He!  
 The King our Messiah shall come;  
 The Sweet One of the Sweet is He!  
 The King our Messiah shall come;  
 The Most Pitiful of the Pitiful is He! *etc.*

Whilst this hymn was sung, the Turkomauns stood near the room with their hands folded together, as they do in the mosque; and after every stanza, they stroked their beards, observing the *Awliyan*, i. e. Holy man from England, sings holy hymns with the Jews; for I sang it with them.



The Jews of Sarakhs and Khiva are suspected by the Persians of assisting the Turkomauns in getting slaves.

Doctor Milman's questions respecting the Malabar Jews, induce me to make the following general remarks, respecting the Jews of Toorkestaun, which are chiefly applicable to the *Trans-Oxonian* Jews. They have no other writings except those which the Jews in Europe are possessed of. The Jews of Meshed have in their own characters the poems of Hafiz, Youssuf and Soleikha, and some of the Persian poems. All their books come from Leghorn, Poland, (where they have a press at which their Talmud has been printed,) Wilna, Sklov, and other places of Europe, by way of Makariev, Orenburg, Cassan and Astrachan. They have the common tradition about the Sabbathical river;\* but the Jewish Sooffees of Meshed disbelieve it. The Talmud is scarce at Meshed and Torbad, and is not to be found at all among the Jews of Sarakhs, Mowr, Maimona and Ankhoy; while, from reasons which I shall explain hereafter, it is frequently to be found at Bokhara. They do not know the Apocryphal books of the Maccabees, Tobit, &c. as they exist among the Christians; but they are acquainted with their history, by their rabbinical writings. They have very fine synagogues at Meshed, from the time of Nadir Shah. Their hierarchy consists of כהנים Priests; לויים Levites; רבנים Rabbies; דינים Vice Rabbies; נשיאים Princes; מלמים Teachers. Only their Rabbies speak pure Hebrew. They keep themselves entirely secluded from their neighbours, and never intermarry with them: the Jews of Meshed do not even intermarry with those of Yazd, on account of the bad character of the latter. The Jews of Meshed, Toorkestaun and Khorossaun, have no intercourse with those of Ispahan and Teheraun, nor with those of Europe. They have no hatred towards Jesus Christ; which makes me suspect their being of the Ten Tribes, who had no share in the crucifixion of our Lord.

All the Jews of Toorkestaun assert, that the Turkomauns are the descendants of Togarmah, one of the sons of Gomer, mentioned in Genesis x. 3; and the Turkomauns are called by the Jews Togarmah, or Garmah. The Turkomauns themselves say, that they are descendants of *Garaman* and *Yalawatsh*.†

The following is a list of the names of the tribes of Turks, from Bokhara and Khiva to Chinese Tartary; I insert it here for the use of Historians or Philologists. The Turkomauns are a branch of the Turk.

Mankid, of which tribe the King of Bokhara is descended. Neyman. Seray. Burkut. Bahareen. Yamoo. Yaboo. Sa-

\* This tradition is related in another part of the journal.

† Who is not struck with the resemblance of *Garaman* and *German*? And beside this, Germany is called by the Jews Ashkenaz, who was the brother of Togarmah; and one cannot but be struck with the resemblance between the German and Turkomaun countenances, especially of the women.

rekh. Khetay. Karakejak. Khetay Kejak.\* Karakalpak. Jomojoole. Kyjele. Daas. Kenekas. Konghorat. Korama. Manaas. Barlaas. Dorman. Semees. Lakay. Kesemeer. Kadaghan. Metan. Karaghle. Sonk. Tshosman. Mink. Xoos. Kirk. Ajamyle. Karatakmyle. Jakhalwyle. Yafiak. Karakoyle. Jelekar. Maseet. Tamah. Galetshee. Kantshek-hale. Jojele. Kashtakmale. Batshegah. Oak. Karatak-male. Molaghale. Balkhale. Toorkmaun. Keat. Jelayer. Tekka. Yamoot. Karlogh. Olmas. Olam. Karataghle. Aghtaghle. Kalmak (Calmook). Kasaac (Cosas). Metanle. Manas. Karakonghrat. Kara-Symis. Akhsenis. Kirgees (Girgees). Ghaze-Aghlee. Salor (who had two sons, Garman and Yalawatsh). The Turkomauns of Sarakhs are of the tribe of Salor, and these are their names: Yatshe. Bagash. Toora Timoor. Bokhara. Bashartsha. Doos, (corresponds with Duisco.) Karaktsha-Aga. Arslam Bolook. Yakoob. Sakar. Ajab. Moosa. Ismael. Yeika. Alam. Jolam. Artoo-Khoja. Sakar. Beyk-Bolook. Telemen. Arwan-Mink. To all these tribes they prefix the word *tarah*, i. e. tribe.† Joomaj-Mink. Taase-Boyle. Tashgasyar. Kaltatay. Koshtagmale. Katakolagh. Akoyrog.

#### FORM OF GOVERNMENT AT SARAKHS.

The Turkomauns of Sarakhs have no Chief, properly so called. Every tribe has an Aga Sakal, i. e. Lord of the beard; in Persian they are simply called Reesh Safeed, i. e. white beard. If a dispute arises among them, the whole tribe of the respective parties take a part in it, and the matter is settled by the Aga Sakal; not by an order (Hokkam,) but by Iltimas, (Intercession,) saying to the contending parties, "Boys, look at our white beards!" However they give some presents, sometimes to the King of Khiva, and sometimes to the King of Bokhara, and now to Abbas Mirza, just as it suits their purpose; for which they receive counter presents. They are mostly afraid of the King of Khiva. Ask a Turkomaun, why no order exists among them; he replies, we have no King. ("In those days there was no King in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Judges xvii. 6.) In the vast Empire of Russia, one can travel with safety, and in the cities and villages order is to be found; for monarchical power, the most biblical, is established there.

A Turkomaun never beats his child, in order that he may not lose his natural courage; he never divorces his wife; and he has generally only one.

#### AL-AMAN.

The Turkomauns collected, united, and marching for Tshapow

\* Khetay Kejak is Cochin China.

† The word מִרְיָה was used already in the Bible in Genesis xxv. 16, Numbers xxxi. 10, where it means fold of the Nomades, a village of huts, or hordes.

(Foray) in the field, are called Al-Aman, i. e. people, to whom the prisoner entrusts his safety.\* The prisoner who is taken by the Al-Aman, and who is called Bandah, i. e. Bound, exclaims, the moment he is taken, Safety!

RULES OF PLUNDER.

The Turkomauns get every year a Fetwa, i. e. a Decree, or Bull, from the Mullahs of Bokhara, encouraging them to make slaves of the Guzl-Bash, or Persians, in order that their children may be brought up as "Four Friends," i. e. as followers of the four friends of Mohammed, Omar, Abou-Bekr, Osman, and Ali; but they are exhorted not to make slaves of the Moosae, i. e. Jews, and Ysaee, i. e. Christians; for both are considered to be, Possessors of the Book: but they have a proverb: an "Al-Aman on horse-back does not know his own father," and therefore it happens that they frequently take Jews, who are afterwards released; but the Russians are never set at liberty, in spite of their being Christians; it even happens sometimes, that they take hold of the Sunnee, the followers of their own sect. They are now much afraid of Abbas Mirza: they dig wells in hidden places and conceal the snow, that they may have an asylum in case of his coming to Sarakhs.

Ballee, an Aga Sakal, called upon me, and made me acquainted with some of his sins. It cannot escape one's observation, that barbarians are never displeased at being reprov'd for their vices; but it is not from a regard for the preacher: they are in fact so accustomed to dishonourable actions, that they are not shocked at hearing themselves styled dishonourable: a thief will never be displeased at hearing himself called a thief; besides this, their religious notions are so feeble, that they do not so soon perceive, that one, preaching to them Christ crucified, speaks against their Koran. I heard several of the Turkomauns call Jesus the son of God, from his having had no human father. A Missionary may therefore easily be deceived by believing, that he has gained ground by convincing a Turkomaun that Jesus is the Son of God; but when the Turkomaun finds out that the expression is against the Koran, he will turn against him. However, a straight forward conduct, reading of one's book, i. e. the Bible, performance of prayer, demonstrations of pity and compassion, will effect a great deal, by God's grace, among barbarians. Be not a stiff gentleman, if you wish to gain them over.

*Feb. 3.*—I was visited by a good many Turkomauns, Hazarah, and Teemoree. I preached to them the Gospel, and exhorted them to desist from their practice of making slaves. The Teemoree promised to follow my advice, and so they did; for they set off for Meshed, to take service in the army of Abbas Mirza; but some of the Turkomauns replied, that if Tshapow was sin, the sin would not be upon their necks, but upon the necks of the Mullahs of

\* May not this tend to shew that the Germans came from this country, and are thence called Alleman?

Bokhara, who encouraged them every year by their Fetwa. Others remarked, that if it was sin, God would not permit it; and as long as they were capable of making Foray, it was an indication of its being the will of God.

One of the Hazarah besought me to make him a present of my Guzl-Bash servant; for he had bought a horse from a Turkomaun for two slaves; one slave he had already given, so that he is still in debt for one more.

#### OLD COINS.

The Turkomauns of Sarakhs and Mowr excavate from the ground a great many coins, which they call *Poole Guebre*, i. e. Money of Guebres; but before they sell it, they melt it. I however got a few by means of the Jews, and found that they were coins from the time of Sultan Sanjaar.

#### MARRIAGES AMONG THE TURKOMAUNS.

As the Turkomaun women go about unveiled, the men marry by choice. This is carried on in the following manner; the lover and the beloved make an appointment to escape together to the house of an Aga Sakal, where they send for a Mullah, who marries them. The parents of the girl look about for their daughter, and after having found her, they demand her of the Aga Sakal; the Aga Sakal protests against betraying his Mehmoon, i. e. Guest; the seducer is obliged to pay a sum of money, and the girl remains his wife.

#### MODE OF WORSHIP AMONG THE TURKOMAUNS.

The Turkomauns of Sarakhs have no mosque; every one of them prays alone, either in the field or in his tent; they assemble twice every year in the desert, and perform their prayer; once on the first day of Ramasaun, and again on the first day of Bayraum.

#### MULLAH TATSH

Is the Cadi of the Turkomauns at Sarakhs; a very good Arabic scholar, who has made his studies at Bokhara. On the day of my arrival at Sarakhs, he sent for me, letting me know, that the Turkomaun Sayd Neyas, of the Teere (or tribe) Yatshe, one of the Aga Sakals at Sarakhs, to whom I, on meeting him at Torbad Hydarea, had given an Arabic Testament, had sent it here; and that he, Mullah Tatsh, had read it with great delight and pleasure. I called on him immediately, and he shewed me the New Testament. He asked me the meaning of many passages, and the object of my travels; many Turkomauns were just then with him. I stated openly that I was travelling about to find the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, to preach the Gospel to the Jews, and to tell the Turkomauns that plunder and making slaves of free people was sin. He turned to the Turkomauns, and said, "In our Hadees is a prophecy, that shortly before the arrival of Mohde, a man shall appear, who shall exhort the nations to repentance: Joseph Wolff is the forerunner of Mohde."

At the moment I was with him, his wife died at the birth of a child.



## SAHER BEYK, AND BEYK NASAR,

Both Aga Sakals of the Turkomauns, called on me. I shewed them my firmaun from the Sultan of Constantinople; both of them kissed the seal of it, saying, "This is our Khaleefa, of the same religion as we are; whosoever can shew such a paper, has nothing to fear among the Turkomauns."

One of the Turkomauns called on me immediately after, and told me that he had dreamt last night, that I had arrived safely at Bokhara, and was sitting upon a throne near the King of Bokhara, and the throne was adorned with burning candles; and that he saw me walking in the streets of Bokhara, accompanied by four of the King's servants. Many Turkomauns came to me, and desired me to pray over their sick relations and their barren wives, which I did in the Persian tongue.

I called again on Mullah Tatsh, Cadi of the Turkomauns, and read with him Matthew xxiv. and Revelations xiv. and as his wife had died, I prayed according to the custom of the Turkomauns; which prayer they call in Arabic *Fatha*, i. e. opening of the Koran; but I prayed the Lord's prayer.

Feb. 7.—Mullah Tatsh called on me, in company with another Mullah from Bokhara; after taking his beard between his teeth, and pondering over something very gravely, he addressed me in the following manner: "Youssuf Wolff, you are a Mullah, and I am a Mullah; and every one likes to be with his equal. I know that you have experience in every science: I want therefore a great favour of you; that is, to make by witchcraft, that some woman may fall in love with me, and be disposed to become my wife; for you know, that my wife died at the moment you were with me." I replied, "I cannot procure you a wife by witchcraft; for in the first instance, I do not understand that art; and secondly, my religion does not permit me to practise it; but you will do well to marry the woman who was seduced by Ballee, that you may become a protector to her child." He said that he would do so. Such advice will sound awkward in the ear of an English reader; but he must take into consideration the difference between a civilized nation, and the barbarians in the desert; then he will find such advice not only excusable, but proper.

Many Turkomauns called again, and desired me to pray over them; which I did. They even go sometimes to the Jew, Joseph of Talkhtoon, and desire him to pray over them; for, as there are Protestants who sometimes have more confidence in the prayer of some Roman Catholic Priest, or Capuchin Friar, in the same manner the Turkomauns confide more in the prayer of a devout Jew or Christian; especially as I had been declared to be the forerunner of Mohde by their Mullahs.

## OSBEK.

I met to-day several Osbeks from Bokhara; they have very small eyes, and are the proper inhabitants of Bokhara and Khiva. They

say, that the meaning of Osbekis is this: *Os*, self, and *Bek*, a Lord; for they were the Lords of the kingdoms of Khiva and Bokhara.

In order to give my readers a complete idea of my operations during my journey through Toorkestaun, and to substantiate my assertion, that I always professed myself to be a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ, I insert herewith a letter which I wrote to Mirza Baba, when at Sarakhs. Mirza Baba is well known in England; he is Chief Physician (Hakeem Bashee) of Abbas Mirza, and writes and reads English.

*Sarakhs, February 3, 1832.*

My dear Mirza Baba,

Though I have already written to you a letter by Ballee, I write to you another by the Jew Murad, mentioning to you, that I am well treated in the houses of the Jews at Sarakhs, and have preached to them the Gospel whole nights. They wish me to recommend them to the protection of Abbas Mirza. The Turkomauns and Hazarah visit me frequently; and I exhort them to repentance for having carried on slavery; I had a long conversation with the chief Mullah about the Gospel.

I beg you to petition His Royal Highness in my name, to order Goolitsh Mohammed Khan to send me on soon to Bokhara, and to recommend me to Mirza Husseyn Khan Sabzaware. The chief Mullah of the Turkomauns gives me letters for Bokhara, and he advised me to request Abbas Mirza to give me letters for the King of Bokhara. If Abbas Mirza does not order Goolitsh Mohammed Khan to send me on soon, he will keep me a long time to obtain a large present: I gave him six ducats, and he was not satisfied. I beg that you will get me recommended to the merchants of Meshed, who trade to Bokhara, in order that they may recommend me to the caravans which go to Bokhara. Mirza Askeree can arrange this. The Turkomauns pay great attention to my preaching. Salam\* to Mirza Baker and Ali Beyk. You will do me a great favour to give notice of my operations in my letters to Tabreez, and write to Lady Georgiana Wolff, Malta, about me. I learn that Goolitsh Mohammed Khan will take money from the Jews of Sarakhs, which would render not only him, but likewise the Prince unpopular with the Jews and Turkomauns of Sarakhs. Write to me soon.

Yours truly,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

*P. S.* Get a Rakum for the Jews at Sarakhs; for the Jews at Sarakhs have no houses there, but have their wives and children at Meshed.

J. W.

#### CARAVANS AT SARAKHS.

Caravans, consisting mostly of Turkomauns with slaves, travel to Khiva through an immense tract of desert for 12 days, finding water only every four days, till they arrived at Orgauntsh. In the

\* This word signifies 'Salutations.'

day time, the wind is their guide, by night they are guided by the stars of heaven. It is quite a mistake, that the way to Khiva, and the staying either there or at Orgauntsh is dangerous: as soon as one is upon the territory of Allah Kolle Khan, the pious King of Orgauntsh, nothing is to be feared. The Russians perhaps may now be in danger; for the rumour is current in Khiva, that the Russians would have taken that place long ago, had the English permitted it.

Caravans also travel from Sarakhs to Maimona and Heraut; to both which places they go in five days.

*Feb. 8.*—The Turkomauns assembled in the Bazaur, and had the following conversation. One began: "We ought to be watchful, for Abbas Mirza at Meshed does not sleep; Youssuf Wolff, who is now here, does not sleep; many say, that he is the son of the King of England; others say, that he is the forerunner of Mohde: whoever he is, he does not sleep; therefore we ought to be watchful." My Jewish servant, whom I had taken at Sarakhs, reported to me this conversation.

#### CHARACTER OF ALLAH KOLLE KHAN, KING OF KHIVA.

Allah Kolle Khan, King of Khiva, is a warrior and a divine, (Mullah.) When he is marching towards the enemy, 14 Dervishes accompany him, who exclaim continually, "Be not neglectful of the remembrance of God!" He marched several times against the King of Bokhara, whose great enemy he is, and had always the advantage over him.

The Turkomauns of Mowr, Tekka and Tajan, who had paid tribute to the King of Bokhara, pay it now to the King of Khiva; for the people of Khiva, or, as they are called, the Orgauntshi, are a warlike people; but the man of Bokhara is effeminate. The people of Mowr had been obliged to receive a Governor from Khiva: but one day, when the Governor sent from Khiva, ordered one of the Turkomauns to be flogged, he was instantly killed: after this they sent an Elje, i. e. Ambassador to Khiva, begged pardon, and sent double tribute, swearing strict obedience in future, under condition that no other Governor should be sent; to which Allah Kolle Khan consented.

An Orgauntshi, i. e. Turkomaun from Khiva, called on me, and said that Allah Kolle Khan of Orgauntsh would be delighted to have a letter from me, stating my views on religion. I wrote to him a letter in Persian, informing His Majesty, that I was a Jew from England, who believes that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, that he died for our sins, rose again, and went to heaven, whence he will come again and establish his throne at Jerusalem; that I was now going to Bokhara, to see whether the Jews there are of the Ten Tribes of Israel, and to preach to them the tidings of salvation; and that I hoped to come to Khiva, and to argue with His Majesty. I sent the letter by a Turkomaun from Orgauntsh.

#### DEPARTURE FROM SARAKHS.

Having taken a Jew from Sarakhs in my service, I desired him

to make arrangements for my departure. He went to the respectable Jew, Baba Khan, who spoke with the Aga Sakals, or Lords of the beards, of the different tribes. The Aga Sakals assembled, and agreed to send me with Awaz, one of the Aga Sakals: he stroked his beard, I did the same, and we put our hands into each other's; and after having promised him a present upon my arrival at Bokhara, I set out with him on February 13. Two Osbeks from Karakol, near Bokhara, who had bought six slaves, joined us on the road. Saher Beyk,\* the most respectable Aga of Sarakhs, who wishes to go to England, to get a present from the *Padishah*, (i. e. King,) and the principal Jews accompanied me the distance of two miles from Sarakhs. Before they returned to Sarakhs, they desired me to bless them, which I did. We stroked our beards. Saher Beyk and Baba Khan, the Jew, returned; and I continued my journey, accompanied by Ishak, my Jew servant, and one Guzl-Bash servant from Meshed, and the six Guzl-Bash slaves, three of whom were chained together. We passed through the barren desert covered with snow. The caravans generally stop the first day near a well; but Awaz, having secret instructions from the Turkomauns, did not go with me near it; for they are very jealous of showing their wells to strangers; we were therefore taken another road. We observed at a distance thirty Al-Aman on horseback, coming from Mowr on a plundering expedition to Khorossaun; for since those of Sarakhs had promised Abbas Mirza to desist from Foray, those of Mowr continued it. Awaz said to me, "Now stop here, for the Turkomauns are Adam-Khoor, (Men eaters;) I must now go and speak with the Turkomauns." He went to his brethren, and said to them, "I have under my protection a Jewish Peer, i. e. an old man, from Jerusalem, with his two servants; he was the guest of the Aga Sakals of Sarakhs, and of Goosh-Bekee, (i. e. Prime Minister of the King,) of Bokhara; do not come near him, lest you frighten the man; for he knows that the Turkomauns are Adam-Khoor." Without saying one word, they took another direction, and we proceeded on our journey. The first night we stretched ourselves upon a straw mat, after we had cleared the ground a little from the snow; we burnt some trees, by means of which we were enabled to make tea, and warm ourselves, and smoke comfortably our galyoon. Late in the night, an Osbek, in the service of the Prime Minister of the King of Bokhara, came on horseback from Meshed, to which place he was sent by his master, for the purpose of enquiring into the

\* When Saher Beyk learnt that I had given six Tomauns to Goolitsh Mohammed Khan, as a present for having accompanied me from Meshed to Sarakhs, he observed: "My heart burns that you should squander away your money on such a rascal as Goolitsh Mohammed Khan; the next time I shall accompany you to Bokhara." When I asked how much I should have to give him, he replied, "My dear brother, you must know that I am not such a mean man as Goolitsh Mohammed Khan, and therefore you ought to give me twice as much as you gave to that scoundrel."



strength of the army of Abbas Mirza; he said to Awaz, my Turkomaun, "This is Youssuf Wolff, the Englishman, who argued with the Mullahs at Meshed." My Turkomaun observed, that he must not make a noise about me at Mowr; for if any thing should happen to me on the road, no caravan must ever appear again from Bokhara at Sarakhs. He promised to be quiet about me on the road.

*Feb. 16.*—We arrived among the wild Turkomauns at Mowr, likewise called Merve. It was very odd to see the Turkomaun ladies of Merve with a kind of ivory horns, as their head ornaments, such as the females of the Drooses in Mount Lebanon wear. They saluted us kindly; for the King of Khiva had given orders to the Turkomauns at Mowr to receive kindly the Awliyaan, i. e. Holy man of England. The Turkomauns of Merve, or Mowr, live in four different camps, several miles distant from each other: viz. Mowr, or Merve, or Akhal; Tatshan, which corresponds with our word Dutch; Tekka; Talkhtoon.

A party of Turkomauns were just going to one of their priests, for the purpose of obtaining his blessing, previous to their going on a plundering expedition. They then recited a portion of the Koran, called on the name of God and the Prophet, stroked their beards, and off they rode.

The Turkomauns here, derive their genealogy from Salor, a descendant of Japhet. Of the first and last of those four great divisions above mentioned, I have learnt that they subdivide themselves as follows. 1. *Akhal*: Sarog, Bahraj, Khorossaunle, Sohkte, Goltsha, Ali Shah, Batang, Kay-Ali, Kale-Bash, Kusel. 2. *Talkhtoon*: Ortoo Khoja, Alam, Beyk-Bolook, Jolom, Aloo-Bolook. The second and third contain the following subdivisions, which I am not able to assign with certainty. 3. At *Tekka* and *Tatshan*: Konkor, Yoossoof, Khar-Konkoo, Sishmas, Bakhshes, Amaanshah, Saryase, Koktsha, Karamaat, Borghaz, Khoja, Arok, Karatsha, Kara, Mojawr, Tasheekh. Here I was informed likewise about the tribes of Turkomauns residing in the city of Orgauntsh, which are mixtively of the former: Yimr-Ali, Yamoot, Tshotoor, Goglan, Karakalbag, Kheterle, Alele.

The disciples of that Jewish Saint, Joseph of Talkhtoon, who follows principles similar to those of Madame Guyon, came out to meet me with the rest of the Jews, and thanked God that I entered their tents in peace, to speak to them about Jesus of Nazareth; for they had heard of me by Jews of Meshed and Sarakhs, and that I had given New Testaments to them. Joseph of Talkhtoon is engaged with the Khaleefa of the Turkomauns in prayer, for obtaining a higher light. He was just occupied in reading a Persian manuscript on *Divine love*. I translated to them several portions of the New Testament; for I had no more to give them. The Jews of Mowr believed from Ezechiel xxxvii. that that Prophet raised the dead. I gave them the true interpretation of it. They observed, "Mullah Mohammed Ali at Meshed is an interest-

ed liar,\* but you speak the truth." The Jews here are, as was said before, from Meshed; but they reside here constantly. A few years ago, two of them were killed by Turkomauns; but Allah Kolle Khan of Khiva avenged their death.

The chief Jews here are, Mullah Eliahu Ben Mullah Daniel, Mullah Michael Ben Mordecay, Mullah Ishak Ben Ahron Masse, Mullah Mordecay Ben Aga Shelome, David Ben Aga Joone Nissim. I preached to them in their reed-cottages, Jesus Christ, and him crucified; and ransomed an old Guzl-Bash from slavery by means of a Jew. A great demand for New Testaments was made by them; but even here, infidelity has crept in among the Jews, who are more fond of reading Hafiz than the Bible.

I wrote the following letter to Mirza Baba:

"Under the protection of H. R. H. Abbas Mirza, I have arrived safely so far, where I am in the tents of hospitable and kind Jews, surrounded by Turkomauns; and to-morrow morning I set out for Bokhara, accompanied by the principal Turkomaun of Sarakhs, two Osbeks, and one Jew. I am already announced to both the Kings of Bokhara and Khiva. I cannot now write to you more, lest my letter, by its bulk, excite suspicion in the eyes of the Turkomauns, who are the bearers of it. I have preached the Gospel fully to the Jews and Turkomauns of Mowr and Sarakhs: the latter consider me as the Forerunner of the Saheb Zemaan (the Lord of the age)."

I insert here the following letter to His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza himself, as the best answer to a mistaken statement of Lieut. Burnes, asserting that I had travelled about as a Mohammedan pilgrim.

Mowr, in Toorkestaun, in the Territory of the King of Khiva.

*February 16, 1832.*

I arrived last night at Mowr. Awaz-Aga, who accompanies me to Bokhara, behaved very well. Your Royal Highness has shewn me such great kindness, that I feel it to be my duty to inform your Royal Highness, that on my return to Meshed I shall be accompanied by fifty Turkomauns and Teemooree, whom I have convinced that slave making is sin; and they will come with me to your Royal Highness, and take service in the army of your Royal Highness. The Jews of Mowr beg me to mention to your Royal Highness, that they had been falsely accused by the people of Meshed, of having taken part in the men-selling of the Turkomauns; and your Royal Highness may rest assured, that that report is a lie. On the contrary, they gave meat and money to the unfortunate slaves. As the report of *my Mission to the Jews* already reached the ears of the King of Bokhara, and express messengers are gone on my account, from the agents of the King of Bokhara, to His Majesty, I humbly petition your Royal Highness to recom-

\* Mullah Mohammed Ali, to whom the Jews of Mowr alluded, is the Sooffee, whom I have mentioned as the teacher of Sooffeism among the Jews of Meshed.

mend me strongly to the Kings of Bokhara and Khiva, and mention to them *that I am a Missionary to the Jews*. I beg your Royal Highness to command Mirza Baba to send a copy of this letter to Lady Georgiana.

I am, Prince, Your most dutiful servant,  
JOSEPH WOLFF, Missionary.

My letter to His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza was copied by Mirza Baba, and sent off to Lady Georgiana with a letter from Mirza Baba himself, by which it will be seen still more clearly, that it was known by Mussulmans (for Mirza Baba is a Mussulman) as well as by the Jews, that I am a Missionary. The letter is copied verbatim.

*Meshed, March 18, 1832.*

My Lady,

I beg to have the honour to send to your Ladyship, by the desire of His Royal Highness Abbas Mirza, the copy of a letter from His Excellency the Rev. Mr. Joseph Wolff, and am happy to state that His Excellency has safely reached to Bokhara, and is likely, finding the roads safe, he will proceed to Khiva and Caubul, after being sometime in Bokhara. With your Ladyship's permission I will do myself the pleasure to inform your Ladyship the news I shall be favoured from His Excellency in future.

Hoping to remain, My Lady,  
Your Ladyship's humble servant,  
(Signed) M. BABA.

The Jews observe that in these four places, Mowr, Tekka, Tajan, and Talkhtoon, there are altogether 100,000 Turkomauns. Every Turkomaun is in possession of one horse.

HISTORY OF OMAR KHAN, SON OF THE LATE KING HYDAR OF BOKHARA.

Shah Hydar died several years ago; after his death Omar Khan took possession of the throne, and killed the rest of his brothers, except Behador, the son of a slave-girl, who escaped to some other place. Goosh-Bekee, the present Prime Minister, expelled Omar Khah, and wrote to Behador Khan, that he should come and take possession of the throne. He killed the greater part of his relations, and was contriving to kill Omar Khan; when suddenly the news reached him, that Omar Khan had been killed, and solemnly buried. But Omar was not dead; his mother had killed a slave in his stead, and sent her son away in the dress of a Dervish. Omar went to Mazaur, to perform his devotion at the tomb of Shahe-Merdaun, the King of men, i. e. Ali: thence he went to Constantinople; and whilst I was at Mowr, he appeared at Tekka, where he was recognized by a Mullah of Bokhara, who had been his teacher in former times, in the house of the Turkomaun Rasa Tekka, of the tribe Khora Ahmed. Omar Khan sent off immediately an express to Allah Kolle Khan, desiring him to assist him in regaining the throne of Bokhara.

The Jews brought me to their respective cottages, into which the Turkomauns came to see the Awliyaan, arrived from a distant

land. It is a current belief among the Jews of Mowr, that a Jew, Simon Ben Shatakh, had assisted Mohammed in compiling the Koran.

#### DEPARTURE FROM MOWR.

After having given the blessing to my Jewish brethren, and to the Turkomauns, and recited Psalm 121, according to the custom of the Jews here, I parted from my kind hosts, and continued my journey to Bokhara, in company of my two servants, a Jew and a Guzl-Bash, and Awaz the Turkomaun, the two Osbeks, and the six slaves. One of the slave boys continually lamented, saying, "The Al-Aman have taken me, poor, poor Guzl-Bash, and carry me to Orgauntsh and Bokhara!" He was of the holy city of Meshed; he had only gone out of the gate to play, and the Al-Aman came, and took the poor, poor Guzl-Bash, and carried him to Orgauntsh and Bokhara. In the morning, as soon as the poor boy opened his eyes, he lamented, "The Al-Aman have taken me, poor, poor Guzl-Bash, and carry me to Orgauntsh, and Bokhara."

I was struck by observing some of the slaves from Beloochistan calling the Turkomauns *Franke*, i. e. Franks, or Europeans.

Thus we wandered through a barren, cold, and unkind desert, drinking snow, and making tea with it, all the way to Jehaar-Joo.

#### ARRIVAL AT JEHAAR-JOO.

*Feb. 25.*—We arrived at Jehaar-Joo, which means four wells; for there are four wells there. It is a city of a considerable population, belonging to the King of Bokhara. The Governor of the place is a Calmuc; he has the title of Emeer.

There were arrived in the Caravan-seray several Jews from Bokhara; as I had sent on before my Jewish servant, they came out to meet me, and took me to their rooms; they were Mullah Gaday, his son, and several others. The Governor sent his men, desiring me to tell him who I was, and at the same time giving me to understand, that I should tell the truth; for he was obliged to report my arrival to the Goosh-Bekee, i. e. Prime Minister of the King of Bokhara.\*

I sent him word, that I was a Jew, who believes in Moses, the Prophets, and Jesus; and that I came to this country with letters for Goosh-Bekee, and with firmauns from the Sultan of Constantinople: my object was to see the Jews of Bokhara and Balkh, and speak to them about Jesus, and to find the Ten Tribes of Israel; that I was an English subject, and a Mehmaan (Guest) of Goosh-Bekee; that Goosh-Bekee was already informed of my coming, &c. Rabbi Gaday informed me, that the old Rabbis of Bokhara assert, that Balkh and Bokhara were the Habor and Halah of 2 Kings xvii. 6, and that the Ammoo, called likewise the Gihoon or Oxus, is the river Gozan, mentioned in the same

\* The name of the Goosh-Bekee was formerly Hakeem Beyk, i. e. Chief Physician; but since he is King's Minister, he is called Goosh-Bekee, i. e. Ear of the Lord (King).



chapter; that the Jews of Sabzawar had been carried by some King to Samarcand, Balkh and Bokhara.\*

Rabbi or Mullah Gaday told me the following fact. A Jew with whom he had a quarrel, went to a wizard, who bewitched his son, so that he dislikes to sleep with his wife. He also told me, that a few years ago a New Testament had been sent from Orenburg to Bokhara. Joseph Mooghreebe, or Joseph Maarabee, as the Jews of Bokhara call him, ordered it to be burnt. A long discussion took place between us, about Jesus being the Son of God, and the Messiah promised to our nation.

Rabbi Gaday gave me different information about the state of the Jews at Bokhara; which, after my arrival there, I found to have been an exact statement. He tells me, that the Jews of Meshed stand in bad reputation among the Jews of Bokhara, on account of spending their time in reading Hafiz. They are prohibited at Bokhara, by their Rabbis, to learn either Persian or Arabic; and if any one were to know how to write or read either language, he would be obliged to become a Mussulman.

Isaac Ben Aga Shlome could read Persian, and had studied witchcraft; for which reason he was killed, four years ago, by order of Shah Hydar; for he was suspected of having bewitched the Queen.

Bokhara being called the strength of Islamism, the Jews, although they were allowed to worship in their old synagogues, are not permitted to repair them, much less to build new ones. They are obliged to wear a mark, and a little cap, which distinguish them from the Mohammedans; but they are upon the whole well treated by the King. Rabbi Gaday advised me to go to the following Rabbis on my arrival at Bokhara, who, as he expressed himself, are the great men of the Congregation of Bokhara. Rabbi Pinehas the elder, chief Rabbi. Mullah Moshe Eliaboy, Ahron Shohed. Moshe Cohen. Mullah Benjamin Shohed. Mullah Isaac Fathe. Mullah Isaac Melammed. Mullah Khoydad. Mullah Isaac, son of Mullah Badal. Mullah Yehoodah Ben Mullah Halefda. Mullah Gaday Ben Joseph Cohen Calandar, (President of the Jews). Mullah Matathia. Mullah Moshe Shahak. Mullah Moshe Calandar. Mullah Moshe Cosa. Mullah Abraham Hakham. Mullah Pinehas Ben Simha, the most learned of the Jews of Bokhara.

The people of Jehaar-Joo have been very civil; they only objected to my not wearing a mark of distinction, as they might easily have the misfortune to take me for a Mussulman, and give me the Salaam; a salutation only given to a Mussulman; which would be a serious matter at Bokhara, the (Kawate Islaamed-Deen) Strength of Islamism. I replied that I was the Mehmooon

\* This was before and in the time of Tshingis Khan; but before this time, Jews came directly to Samarcand, Bokhara and Balkh, during the captivity of Babylon; as I ascertained after my arrival at Balkh.

of Goosh-Bekee, and an Englishman: and that the Sultan of Constantinople had adopted our dress.

#### DEPARTURE FROM JEHAAR-JOO.

*March 1.*—We left Jehaar-Joo; it was a cold, frosty day, the road covered with snow. At a little distance from Jehaar-Joo, we crossed in a boat the Ammoo, called likewise Gihoon, Gen. ii. 13; this river is commonly called the Oxus. There are two small boats for travellers.

From Jehaar-Joo to Bokhara, we found on our road many small villages. In the evening we arrived at Karakol, 28 English miles from Jehaar-Joo, and the same distance from Bokhara. It may contain, like Jehaar-Joo, 4000 inhabitants, mostly Osbeks.

#### GOVERNOR OF KARAKOL.

Ameer Mohammed Hussein Khan, formerly a Guzl-Bash slave, gained the favour of Shah Hydar, and was exalted to the dignity of Emeer and Governor of Karakol. He is a mild and polite person, and very friendly. When I told him that the object of my travelling was to enquire into the state of the Jews, to argue with them about the Gospel, and to have friendly intercourse with the Mohammedans at Bokhara, he observed, "I advise you not to take any step without first having seen the Goosh-Bekee; especially be cautious with the Mullahs: one word against the Mohammedan religion may rouse the Mullahs, and make them forget that you are a Mehmoon. What is your opinion about the Mullahs issuing Fetwa, that the Turkomauns should make slaves of the Guzl-Bash?" I replied, "I decidedly disapprove of making slaves of a free people as the Persians are." He rejoined, "Be cautious at Bokhara!" He then told me, that the King of Bokhara would be glad if Abbas Mirza was to take Orgauntsh; for the King of Orgauntsh was an Haram Zadah, i. e. Son of a whore. He then gave orders to the keeper of the caravan-seray, to treat me kindly. I drank tea with him, and he desired me to write a prayer (Daa), for him; which I wrote in Persian, and advised him to read it daily. The following is a translation of it: "Oh Lord, thou who hast exalted me to my present dignity, give me thy grace, in order that I may judge my people with equity; and give me the light of truth, that I may better know thy will and command. Amen."

*March 3.*—I left Karakol; but as the Ammoo was frozen, we could not cross it in a boat, and were forced to make a circuit of eight English miles through a sandy desert, until we reached a bridge, which enabled us to pass what I concluded to be a branch of the Oxus. In the evening, (blessed be thy name, Oh Lord!) in the evening time, after a fatiguing and dangerous journey of one year, two months and six days, since I left Malta, I arrived at the gate of Bokhara; cured from illness in Turkey and Armenia; saved from slavery at Torbad Hydarea; untouched, and even protected by the wild Turkomauns of Mowr, Sarakhs and Tekka, I arrived safely at the gates of Bokhara, the Kawate Islaam ed-Deen, the

Strength of Islamism, the city of Afrasiab,\* the supposed Habor of Scripture, the rival and supplantress of Samarcand, the place of residency of Behador Khan, the treasures of which are so celebrated, that they are mentioned in the poems of Hafiz, the asylum of the Nogay, the Jew, the Girgise and the Hindoo: I arrived at Bokhara, the city of Behador Khan, so harshly treated in former times by Tshingis Khan, and then again by Tamerlane: I arrived at the gates of Bokhara, Hallelujah! As it was late in the night, we halted at the house of an Osbek from Orgauntsh, who treated us hospitably. I asked my Turkomaun several questions about Bokhara. He replied, "Do not ask such questions to-morrow morning of Goosh-Bekee."

#### ENTRANCE IN THE CITY OF BOKHARA.

*March 4.*—I sent my Turkomaun into the town to ask the permission of Goosh-Bekee to enter the town of Bokhara. His Excellency sent a horseman for me, and I entered Bokhara on horseback, with my Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament in my hand. I was first brought to the house of the servant of the Goosh-Bekee, who received me very kindly; and after I had desired him to make me a cup of tea, he made me tea in the Mogul style, as they call it, i. e. tea with salt, instead of sugar. A comfortable room was prepared for me. A short time after, Goosh-Bekee, i. e. he that has the 'Ear of the Lord,' the Prime Minister of the King, sent for me, desiring me to come to him. On entering his room, I saw him sitting with Ameer Sharaaf, the chief merchant of Bokhara; both of whom knew Mr. Morecroft and his party. Goosh-Bekee asked me to sit down; and after I had delivered to him the letters of introduction, from the chief Mujtehed, Mirza Hadayat Ullah, and from Mullah Mohammed Jawad of Burjund, the following conversation took place in the presence of Ameer Sharaaf.

*Goosh-Bekee.* Do you know Morecroft?

*Myself.* I only know him by reputation.

*G. B.* Do you come now from London?

*M.* From Malta and Constantinople.

*G. B.* Is King George still alive?

*M.* No, but William, his brother, is now King.

*G. B.* Did you hear of Morecroft's death?

*M.* I heard of it at Tabreez; they say that he died at Balkh.

*G. B.* No, but at Ankhoi. Why did you come to this country?

*M.* I am a Jew, who believes in Jesus Christ, and I therefore go about the world, to argue with the Jews about the truth of the Gospel. I have on this account been three times at Jerusalem, nine times in Egypt, and twice in Persia; and having learnt, that Bokhara and Balkh are the Habor and Halah of Scripture, and that many Jews were here, I came here to converse with them, and to see the Mullahs of the Mussulmans; and then I shall proceed on

\* The learned men of Bokhara ascribe the foundation of this city to Afrasiab, the ignorant people to Alexander the Great.

my way to Cabool; for I have learned, that the Affghauns believe themselves to be descendants of the Children of Israel.

*G. B.* Do you know Shoojah-Almulk, and Shah-Zemaan at Loodianah?

*M.* I had never been in India.

*G. B.* How has the dispute between the Governor General of India and Runjud Singh ended?

*M.* I know nothing about it.

*G. B.* Do you eat our meat?

*M.* Not at Bokhara, for two reasons: first, because you eat here horse flesh; and next, because I do not want to give offence to the Jews here, with whom I wish to converse. (I did not like to tell him a third reason, which was, that I was warned at Meshed not to eat with the Mussulmans at Bokhara, telling me that they administer poison to foreigners; which report, however, I believe to be without foundation; for after all, I subsequently very frequently drank tea with Goosh-Bekee.)

After this conversation, Goosh-Bekee told me to go back to my lodgings, and remain there, until he had spoken with the Ameer Almoomeneen, Prince of the believers, which is the title of the King of Bokhara, to see whether he would permit me to live with the Jews of Bokhara. In the evening, Rabbi Pinehas, and a great many Jews came to my lodgings, and told me, that after I had spoken again to the Prime Minister, and heard the decree of the King, they would take me to their house. Rabbi Pinehas told me, in case that I was to be introduced to the King, I should stand before him with fear and trembling; and petition him to allow a synagogue to be built, or to repair their old ones.

*March 5.*—The Ameer Almoomeneen, or Prince of the believers, which is the title of the King of Bokhara, sent to me one of his servants, ordering me to send all my papers for his perusal. I immediately complied with His Majesty's command.

In the afternoon Goosh-Bekee sent for me; he asked me politely to sit down; several Jews were present, among whom there were Hakham Eliahu from Bagdad, and Rabbi Simha Calandar\* of Bokhara. I observed that a whispering was going on between Ameer Sharaaf and Hakham Eliahu of Bagdad: soon after, Goosh-Bekee addressed me.

*Goosh-Bekee.* I must tell you, that you have a great resemblance to Morecroft, and I suspect that you came here to reclaim his property, of which we are not in possession.

*Myself.* Goosh-Bekee, I don't tell lies, I am no relation of Morecroft, for I am a Jew by birth; my wife is no Jewess; her name is Lady Georgiana, the daughter of a Vizier, who was a greater man than you are here. This Bible is my occupation.

*G. B.* (to the Jews) This gentleman believes in Jesus, and tells me at the same time that he was a Jew!

*Hakham Eliahu from Bagdad.* Seven years ago, a person came

\* Calandar is a Persian word, meaning the principal man of a community, or rather master of Police.



to Bagdad with Bibles and New Testaments, whose name was Joseph Wolff, who pretended to be a Jew; but when once going to the bath, we observed that he was none, and we burnt all the books, which he had given to us; we found him out to be a Russian.

*I.* I am the same Joseph Wolff, who brought the books; and you lie like a dog, if you say, that I was in the bath at Bagdad.

*G. B.* Do you believe in Jesus?

*I.* The fulness of the Godhead was in him bodily. He was the word of God, that was made flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary, by the power of the Holy Spirit. He died for our sins, rose again, went to Heaven, whence he shall come again, according to my opinion, in the year 1847, and reign at Jerusalem 1000 years.

*G. B.* Is Jesus mentioned in the books of the Jews?

*I.* Throughout the Old Testament.

*G. B.* Is our prophet mentioned in the Bible?

*I.* The empire which he has established is mentioned; but he is not predicted as a prophet.

*G. B.* Where about is his empire mentioned?

*I.* In Daniel vii. 5.

*G. B.* You are our guest; but I consider you as an Englishman, and I believe you to be a relation of Mr. Morecroft, who died at Ankhoy; you may lodge with the Jews here, but the King does not allow you to go to the Mussulman Mullahs, for the sake of your own safety. The way to Cabool is shut up on account of the snow, and will remain so for these three months to come, and the Gazal (i. e. fevers) prevail at Balkh; go back either by way of Meshed, or by way of Russia.

*I.* I must be considered both as an Englishman and as a Jew; for I was naturalized by King George and the house of Lords; and that I am a real Jew by birth, of this you shall be convinced.

Goosh-Bekee pronounced me to be a sincere man, and immediately observed, that he should have much to talk with me about. The Jew Reuben from Meshed took me to his house;\* and here my confessing myself to be a believer in Jesus, though recognised as a Jew, struck them with amazement; especially as the Jews of Meshed had written to them, that I had acted kindly towards them; "For a *renegado* (as they said,) would not confess himself to be still a Jew; nor act kindly towards us."

Having before me the example of Paul, I went with them to the synagogue, and read in the Law of Moses; and as they wanted me to sing one of their hymns in the English style, I sang one with the melody of "God save the King." However, as I was so entirely out of practice with regard to their ceremonies, I discontinued my attendance at their synagogues.

*March 6.*—A large caravan, consisting of Nogay Tatars, arrived from Cassan and Orenburg in Russia; which latter city is called

\* If I had travelled as a Mohammedan pilgrim, as some person erroneously stated, should I have lived with the Jews? would not the fanatic Mohammedans at Bokhara have put me to death?

*Kalaa*, by the people of Bokhara. The caravan consisted of about 400 camels, and 1000 Nogays and Cossacks. I observed among them two Russians, who passed as Mussulmans; they called on me, and wanted to know news about the movements of Abbas Mirza. There were also at Bokhara two Armenians: one, who came from Russia and lived there for many years, and another who lately came from Astrachan, via Orgauntsh. The people of Bokhara are very good natured, but very effeminate; they have no energy, and are a complete kingdom of Mullahs, i. e. Priests. The city of Bokhara contains from 180,000 to 200,000 inhabitants: the ruling people are the Osbek, after them the *Tatshik*; but half of the population are Ghooloom, i. e. slaves of Guzl-Bash; who often talk about Baba Khan, a name which they give to Fatullah Shah, King of Persia. Those Ghooloom frequently hold the highest situation in the state: most of the Persians who were taken slaves and brought to Bokhara, prefer slavery there, to returning to Persia as freemen.

#### BEHADOR KHAN, KING OF BOKHARA.

Behador Khan, the King of Bokhara, has the title of Ameer Almoomeneen, or Prince of the believers. He is about 28 years of age; he spends his mornings in reading the Arabic writings of Jelaal and Bydawee, &c. with a set of Mullahs; after his studies with the Mullahs, he visits the grave of Baba Deen, a Deevane, or sanctified Dervish of Bokhara; and the rest of the day he sits upon the throne of judgment, and hears the complaints of his subjects. He is feared by his Ministers, and considered to be a just King. He is now more than ever desirous to cultivate the friendship of foreign Powers, which change of conduct is ascribed to the advice of Goosh-Bekee, and of Mullah Beddr Addeen, an Affghaun merchant, who has one wife at Cabool, and another at Bokhara. Behador is dreaded by his Ministers, though not at all considered to be a tyrant. The Jews, although 10,000 souls in number, pay only 300 dollars per annum. Theft is punished with death; striking, with the loss of one's hand; quarrelling in the market place, with imprisonment.

#### GOOSH-BEKEE.

The often mentioned Goosh-Bekee is an upright, learned, and kind hearted gentleman, who enjoys the full confidence of the King. He corresponds with the Governor of Orenburg, who has sent him 700 manuscripts in the Persian language as a present. The Russians have sent lately a Russian Embassy to Bokhara, and another to Khiva.

There are here 400 *Hindoos from Checarpore*, who trade here, and are very rich; but they are reputed to be very great rogues.

#### RUSSIAN SLAVES.

I learn that there are at Bokhara about thirty *Russian slaves*: the late Russian Embassy bought a great many Russians, who had sighed for years in slavery. The greatest number of Russian slaves is at Orgauntsh, Ankhoi, Maimona, and Kokan.

## BOKHARA AND BALKH.

Mullah Pinehas the elder, who is Chief Rabbi of the community at Bokhara, called on me with the rest of the Rabbies. He informs me, that the ancient Rabbis of Bokhara asserted, that *Bokhara* is the *Habor*, and *Balkh* the *Halah* of 2 Kings xvii. 6; but that they lost their written accounts in the time of Tshingis Khan. On my arrival at Balkh, I was told by the Mussulman Mullahs, collected together in the room of Aishaan Khoja, that Balkh had been built by a son of Adam, and its first name had been Hanah, and afterwards Halah; though later writers designate it as Balakh, or Balkh. These united accounts, of the Mussulman Mullahs on the one hand, and of the Jews on the other, serve to shew, not only that *Bokhara* and *Balkh* are the same as *Halah* and *Habor*, but likewise (as the Jews of Balkh and Samarcand assert) that Toorkestaun must be the land of Nod, and Balkh the situation where Nod stood. (Genesis iv. 17.)

Is it not very remarkable, that the Jews in the land of Nod, where Cain dwelt, the Jews I say, who slew the antitype of Abel, Jesus Christ, should wear a mark by order of the King of Bokhara, as Cain of old wore a mark; in order that no Mussulman may give them the Salaam, i. e. Peace.\*

Thou, my nation! thou art a fugitive and a vagabond on earth, even in the land of Nod, (which word means *fugitive*;) an exile and an outcast from on high. But the blood of Jesus Christ cries more powerfully, and better things, than the blood of Abel; and he soon will make darkness light before thee, and crooked things straight: Jesus Christ shall bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness, out of the prison-house. And though now it is prohibited, by order of the King of Bokhara, to give you the Salaam, you shall soon dwell in that city, where thy officers shall be *peace*, and thy exactors *righteousness*, governed by Jesus Christ, the King of Jerusalem!

## JEWS OF BOKHARA.

The Jews of Bokhara know only thus much of their history: the Children of Israel, they say, emigrated from Babylon to divers parts of Persia, and settled especially at Sabzawar, two days journey from Meshed. Long before the time of Tshingis Khan, and in his time, the Jews of Sabzawar were carried to Balkh and Samarcand. When Samarcand fell in ruins, a great number of them went to Bokhara, where there were already many, who originally had come from Babylon, and of whom many had emigrated to China, which they call Tsheen Patsheen, and with whom they soon ceased to have any communication at all; but they assert, that they had taken their genealogies with them to China. The Jews of Bokhara, and the surrounding places, Shahr-Sabz, Balkh, Sa-

\* A friend of mine at Malta gave however a most excellent interpretation of "*the sign*" given to *Cain*: namely, God assured him by a miracle, that nobody should kill him.

marcand, Toshkand and Kokan, fell into great ignorance, forgot their laws, rites and customs, and did eat the meat of the Mussulmans indiscriminately. There was no Rabbi among them, who was able to teach them the Law of Moses and the Prophets, or who was able to tell them what was clean and unclean, until Joseph Mooghreebee, the African, or, as the Jews of Bokhara pronounce his name, Joseph Maarabee from Tituan, arrived at Bokhara. As I know the satisfaction with which many of my nation trace the history and genealogy of their celebrated Rabbis, I shall give a detailed account of the descent and connexions of Rabbi Joseph Mooghreebee.

#### RABBI JOSEPH MOOGHREBEE OF TITUAN.

Rabbi Joseph of Tituan, of the family of Maimon, was the son of Rabbi Moshe Maimon; his wife, while he remained at Tituan, (for it will be seen that he had another at Bokhara,) was called Sarah, and their son, born at Tituan, Jehudah: his elder brother remained at Tituan; another brother, Rabbi Shlome Maimon, went to Egypt; Baruch Maimon, another of his brothers, came to Soleemanea, where, refusing to comply with the desire of the King's daughter, he was put to death. Rabbi Joseph Mooghreebee who came to Bokhara, was the disciple of Jehudah Ephraim Monzoyego, a relation of Jehudah Koriath. He went from Tituan to Jerusalem, thence to Bagdad, and from thence to Bokhara; and arriving in the latter place he preached: "Woe is me, Oh my brethren! to find you in such a condition, that you have forgotten the Law of Moses and the Prophets, and the words of the wise men!" He refused to eat of their meat for six months, during which time he taught them to kill animals according to the law of the Jews, ordered them to perform ablution, induced them to send a man to Constantinople, Wilna, Leghorn and Capusta (in Poland), the seat of Jews residing in that country, for the purpose of purchasing talmudical books; he sent for a Sopher,\* who wrote for them the Law of Moses upon parchment; he then took under his instruction several young men, and thus made of Bokhara, as they expressed themselves, a little Jerusalem. He married at Bokhara a second time, though his wife at Tituan was still alive; he spent there 61 years, lived to the age of eighty-one, and died lamented by every Jew of Bokhara, by whom he is styled the 'Light in Israel.' His more initiated disciples however, tell some anecdotes about him, which makes me doubt his orthodoxy: for instance, he told them that it was no sin to drink milk immediately after meat, provided that none of the unlearned Jews were present; that the religion of Moses may be divided into two parts: the one part to be taught to all, and another part reserved for the wise men. Rabbi Pinehas Ben Simha, a young man of extraordinary talents, tells me, that his

\* Sopher, is a fine-writer, who writes the five books of Moses upon parchment, which are deposited in the ark of the synagogue, called the 'Holy Ark;' every sabbath day they read from it a certain portion, called a 'Parasha.'



continued prayer had been: "Oh Lord, King of the worlds, when will the time come, that the followers of Jesus will take possession of these countries!" But still he had the bigotry to destroy the New Testament, which came here a few years ago from Orenburg. He knew mathematics and astronomy, and was an enthusiastic freemason, as it appears. Rabbi Pinehas Ben Simha is his son-in-law, and a man of most extraordinary talent; he is now convinced of the truth of the Gospel, and several others with him. Rabbi Joseph Mooghrebee's sons, Abraham and Isaac, are not endowed with the talents of their father; they are bigotted, and proud of being the sons of Rabbi Joseph Mooghrebee. He was considered by the Mussulmans as a great Mullah, and he proved to them, that the Jews were possessors of the revealed book of Moses, which saved them from slavery.

As Reuben of Meshed, my landlord, was generally drunk, I left his house, which he very unwillingly acceded to, from fear of Goosh-Bekee; but I told him, that I would inform Goosh-Bekee that I did so of my own accord: I went to live in the caravan-seray of the Affghauns, belonging to Mullah Bedr-Addeen.

Mullah Joab Ben Mullah Babay, a Jew, born at Meshed, called on me; he was for a long time Hakem, i. e. Judge at Arandajah, in the province of Dere Kase Khan in Mooltan. The name of the Prince in that country, under whom he was employed, is Mahmood Khan Belooje Pehrawee. I bought from him a translation of the Pentateuch into Persian, with the original written over every word in Arabic letters; it was translated by order of Nadir-Shah. I sent it as a present to the British and Foreign Bible Society.

I proclaimed the truth of the Gospel to this feeling Jew; he wept, but the rest contradicted. I sang with him in Hebrew the following words, found in the Jewish liturgy:

Our Father, our King, we have sinned before thy face;  
 Our Father, our King, there is no King unto us but Thou;  
 Our Father, our King, accomplish it for thy name's sake.

Mullah Joab was well acquainted with Mr. Morecroft at Cabool.

#### JEWES OF SAMARCAND.

Several Jews came to me from Samarcand, which is only 35 English miles from Bokhara. The Jews from Sabzawar settled there before they came to Bokhara. Rabbi Abraham Galeb is chief Rabbi at Samarcand. Rabbi Awaz Badal Halafda is Nasi at Samarcand. Isaac Cashee from Meshed resides there; he is a Sooffee after the manner of the Jews of Meshed, and I learn that he has a great many disciples: even Jews from Bokhara visit him to hear him read the poems of Hafiz, to which he gives an allegorical meaning.

#### JEWES FROM KOKAN.

Several Jews from Kokan came to me; there are about 100 Jews there, but only one of them is married, the rest are merchants from Bokhara.

## POPULATION OF THE JEWS IN TOORKESTAUN.

Bokhara, 2000 families; Samarcand, 300 families; Balkh, 100 families; Shahr-Sabz, 300 families; Kokan, 105 souls; Orgauntsh, 8 souls: in all, 2700 families, or 13,600 souls.

The name of the Rabbi at Shahr-Sabz is Rabbi Shemuel Ben Hananiah Cohen, and the name of their Nasi, (Prince,) is Mullah David Boy.

## HISTORY OF MOHAMMED, AS CURRENT AMONG THE JEWS OF BOKHARA.

Mohammed was the son of a rich citizen of Mecca, Abd-Ullah by name. His mother Emina was a Jewess of dissolute character. He was born in the city of Yatrib, which after this took the name of Medinet Al-Nabi, i. e. the City of the Prophet. Mohammed was born six months after the death of his father. As his mother was a Jewess, he was instructed in the Law of Moses; and after her death, he was instructed by Christians; which accounts for his religion being a mixture of both. He was after this made slave by the Arabs; they sold him to a rich merchant, who treated him with the greatest kindness, and sent him with camels laden with merchandise to Egypt, Assyria and Palestine; on which journies he had opportunity of conversing about religion with Jews and Christians. Having observed that he was suspected by his master of having robbed him, he ran away, and joined a gang of robbers, of whom he became a chieftain. He was a man of a terrible figure, with a thundering voice. He after this contrived that poison was administered to his former master, and he married his widow. But as he had been affected with epileptic fits, his wife desired to be divorced. First he pretended that wine drinking was the reason of those fits, and therefore left off the use of wine. But as this sickness still continued, he said to his wife, that the angel Gabriel was coming to him to teach him a new religion, which caused him so much terror, that all his strength failed him at such moments. And always after the fits were over, he was heard saying, "In the name of the most merciful and pitiful God." On account of those fits, he abstained from wine, as well as from eating pork. He taught a dove to take food from his ear, which he had filled with bread; and he said to the people, that the Holy Spirit inspired him by means of the dove. He then composed the Koran, with the assistance of a Monk and a Jew. He likewise accustomed a bullock to eat food out of his hand; he bound the Koran between its horns, and summoned the people; and whilst he was preaching, the bullock was sent among the astonished people, who perceived a book between his horns: he then took it off from its horns, and said, that it had come from heaven.

## ISAIAH FROM JERUSALEM.

Some years ago, Isaiah, a Polish Jew from Jerusalem, came to Bokhara; he informed the Jews there that the Arabs had been called the *Hagarim* before the time of Mohammed, which means the descendants of Hagar; but Mohammed called them *Sarahim*, i. e.

descendants of Sarah; on which account they were also called Saracens.

#### MULLAH JOAB'S OBSERVATION.

Mullah Joab made the following beautiful observation: "We Jews have reason to rejoice that we are scattered abroad among all nations, and that we are a proverb and a byword among all nations; for we perceive by it the exact fulfilment of prophecy, saying, 'And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other;' which encourages us firmly to believe, that the rest of the prophecies, respecting the future privileges of Israel, will not disappoint us; for it is said, 'And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time, to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.' " I then observed, "And thus you can see, my brethren, that likewise those prophecies must have been fulfilled, that 'The Son of Man must have been cut off, but not for himself,' and that he was to be 'despised and rejected of men,' and that only your looking to him will be the way to your redemption, when the Lord shall take from you the heart of stone, and give you a heart of flesh; for only by having such a heart turned to God, you will be able to enjoy the privilege of being again citizens of Jerusalem."

Mullah Joab expounded the words in Isaiah xi. 12, "And shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth," in the following manner: *outcast*, in Hebrew נדדה means cast to one place; and therefore they must be found in one country of the earth gathered together. נפוצ *dispersed*, implies a being scattered in divers countries.

#### JEWISH RENEGADOES AT BOKHARA.

There are at Bokhara about 300 families of Jews turned to Mohammedanism; the Osbek do not intermarry with them, and they therefore take the daughters of the above described Gholoom, or slaves of Persians. They are employed as spies by Government.

#### MR. MORECROFT.

It is the general opinion of the Jews of Bokhara, that Morecroft was poisoned by order of the late King of Bokhara, Shah Hydar; but the Jews and Mussulmans of Balkh, and Goosh-Bekee deny it. The King observed to Goosh-Bekee, "We must give to Joseph Wolff permission to travel through our country, in order that we may get rid of the bad name which is cast upon us by the death of Morecroft."

#### SYNAGOGUES AT BOKHARA.

The four synagogues at Bokhara are in a deplorable state: small, ruined, and only one of them fit for a place of worship.

*March 12.*—I said to Mullah Joab, and other Jews of Bokhara, “I myself believe that the Jews will be restored to their own land; how do you understand the prediction of the death of the Messiah in Daniel ix. as compared with the predictions of his future glory?” Joab desired me to tell him; and thus I preached to Joab, and to the rest, Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and his second coming in the clouds of heaven.

#### OPINION OF THE JEWS OF BOKHARA CONCERNING THE TEN TRIBES.

Some of the Jews say, that the Ten Tribes are beyond China, and one must cross the Sambatyon, in order to reach them; but the river is very stormy through the whole week, except on a Sabbath day: on the Sabbath, Gentiles are allowed to cross it, but not the Jews; for the Ten Tribes would say, “Why do you transgress the Law, by crossing the river on a Sabbath day?” and would stone him according to the Mosaic Law. Though this is mixed with fiction, there is no doubt that some of the tribes are in China; as I hope to prove, when I come to the narrative of my journey to Cashmeer. The tradition already mentioned of the emigration of the Children of Israel from Bokhara to Tsheen-Patsheen, i. e. China, shews, that some of the Ten Tribes must have been there; though I believe likewise the Benee-Israel around and at Bombay to be of the Ten Tribes. Rabbi Joseph Ben Zachariah Ben Masliah, from Sanaa in Yemen, now at Bokhara, a very learned man, who speaks as do all the Jews of Yemen, beautifully the Hebrew tongue; and also the Arabic language, tells me, that the Benee-Israel at Bankoot, near Bombay, are believed by the Jews of Yemen to be of the Ten Tribes; and that according to the opinion of the Jews of Yemen, the Affghauns are descendants of the strange wives, mentioned in Ezra x. 17, 18.

#### RABBI JOSEPH BEN ZACHARIAH BEN MASLIAH

Came to Bokhara from Sanaa, to take possession of 4000 tomauns, which he heard his father, who died here, had left; but on his arrival at Bokhara, he obtained only thirty tomauns. He himself, as well as his father, had been rivals of the great Joseph Mooghreebe; and Rabbi Jos. Ben Zachariah even asserts, that his father had been poisoned by Rabbi Joseph Mooghreebe. We then turned the conversation to other subjects; I shewed him Isaiah liii. He said, that the sufferings of the Messiah, son of Joseph, not of David, were described.\* I requested him to produce a text of Scripture, by which he could substantiate the Messiah, son of Joseph; he pointed out to me Ezechiel xxxvii. 9. “Say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take away the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel

\* The Jews believe the existence of two Messiahs: the Messiah, son of Joseph, whom they believe to be already in existence, but living in obscurity; he is destined to be slain: but after him, Messiah, the son of David, will achieve the government of the world.



his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in my hand." I proved to him by the following verses of the same chapter, that the Prophet spoke distinctly of the future reunion of all the tribes of Israel. He confirmed the account, which I had heard, and mentioned in my former journals, that the Jews of Yemen had rejected the invitation of Ezra to return to Jerusalem, knowing that they should be brought into captivity again.

The Jews of Yemen, and those of Bokhara assert, that the black Jews of Cochin were the descendants of the slaves of Solomon; but I shall have an opportunity of refuting this assertion, when I come to the narrative of my personal researches among the Jews of Cochin. I shall also shew the reason for renouncing my former belief, that they were the descendants of those Arabs, converted to Judaism by several Rabbis, who, according to Moroodje Dahab, came to Mecca, when the Arabs worshipped Lat and Uthal. Moroodje Dahab says, "When those learned Rabbis entered the temple of Abraham, i. e. the Caaba, with the Law of Moses in their hands, the idols of Lat and Uthal fell down, and broke in pieces in the temple of God: and suddenly many of the tribes of Tob and Korysh were converted to Judaism."

Rabbi Joseph Ben Zachariah believes firmly, that the temple of Mecca had been the temple of Abraham; and Harwee, an Affghaun writer, says, that the Jews went to Yemen after the captivity of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, "For, as the temple of Solomon is destroyed," they said, "we must go to the temple of Mecca, which was built by Abraham." As there are Affghauns in great number at Bokhara, I there already began my enquiries, whether they were of the Ten Tribes of Israel.

Goosh-Bekee shewed me a Persian manuscript, called Mootalla Anwar, in which it is written, that the Affghauns are the descendants of the Copts in Egypt, who went with Moses and the Children of Israel out of Egypt, and turned Jews; and in the time of Mohammed they turned Mussulmans. If this be the fact, the Affghauns are the mixed multitude, (ערב רב) mentioned in Exodus xii. 38. The Affghaun language, or the Poshtoo, as it is termed, ought therefore to be compared with the Coptic language.

#### RABBI PINEHAS BEN SIMKHA

Told me, that according to the opinion of his late father-in-law, Rabbi Joseph Mooghreebe, three events were to happen before the arrival of the Messiah: *First*, Russia shall force her Jewish subjects to become soldiers. *Secondly*, The Ottoman Power shall subdue Russia; and the Ottoman Power shall again be subdued by Russia. *Thirdly*, Elijah shall come. The same told me also, that he had a great desire to go to England and become a freemason.

The Jews of Bokhara believe, that Cabool in Affghanistaun is the Cabul mentioned in Joshua xix. 27. If the Affghauns are descendants of the Jews, it may be that the Jews in Palestine gave the same name to the city which they built in Affghanistaun; just as the Jews, who settled in Spain in the time of Solomon, gave to

the colonies in Spain the names of those cities which they inhabited in Palestine; for instance, Cadiz was formerly called Kadesh by the Jews of Kadesh; Maqueda was thus nominated by Jews of Maqueda in Palestine; Andalusia from Lus; Toledo from the Hebrew word *חולדה* (Toledoth) Generation.

Rabbi Pinehas Ben Simha told me, that 146 days before the arrival of the Messiah the son of David, the Messiah the son of Joseph must appear. I desired him to solve the difficulty in Psalm cx. 1. "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand." 'Who was,' I asked him, 'The Lord of David?' Rabbi Pinehas replied, "The prophet said to David, 'the Lord saith to my (the prophet's) Lord, i. e. David, remain for a while with the Yeminite, i. e. Saul, until I have made thine enemies thy footstool.'" Thus translating *ימני* 'My right hand' as a proper noun. In the first instance I shewed him, that David did not remain with Saul until his enemies were subdued, for he had to subdue them after Saul's death: beside this I shewed him the grammatical incorrectness of it.

*March 14.*—A Jew from Bashgala called on me; by whom I got an exact statement of the Jews in Curdistan belonging to Persia, which I have already inserted in the first part of my late journal about Tabreez.

Rabbi Matathia called on me. I shewed to him Isaiah vii. 14, and desired him to translate *בלימה*; he translated it *Virgin*.\*

*I.* Who was the son of that Virgin?

*Matathia.* The Messiah.

*I.* Why is the birth of a son of a virgin such a stupendous miracle, as described in Isaiah vii. 11?

*M.* She must have had a son without a husband.

*I.* When did such an event take place?

*M.* I do not know.

*I.* It took place at the birth of Jesus son of the virgin Mary.

A long conversation then followed, about Jesus Christ and Him crucified, which lasted a whole night; for it is not the case, as some assert, that since I believe the personal reign of Christ, I have ceased to preach Jesus Christ crucified: I preached the personal reign of Christ at Jerusalem, because it is a consolation to Jew and Gentile, and a holding out of a beautiful prospect to the Jews; Christ crucified is the medicine, the remedy, and the only consolation to the afflicted sinner. The cross of Christ is the banner to be lifted up against the enemy, when he surrounds us.

*March 16.*—I proclaimed the cross of Christ to Rabbi Gaday and to many other Jews.

My Turkomaun Awaz, who had brought me from Sarakhs to Bokhara, called on me; he advised me to go back with him to Sarakhs, saying, that he had heard that three Englishmen had

\* A great proof, that the Christians have translated correctly those passages is, that Jews, who do not know of the controversy, which is going on between Christians and Jews, give to those words the same interpretation as Christians do.

been killed some years ago on their way to Bokhara. Awaz added, that if ever Hakham Eliahu from Bagdad, who wanted to make me suspected in the eyes of Goosh-Bekee, should come to Sarakhs, the Turkomauns would put him to death. I told him not to do such things.

*March 17.*—Goosh-Bekee sent for me; a good many Mussulman Mullahs had joined him and he introduced me to them. They asked me about the divinity of Jesus Christ. I replied again, "The fulness of the Godhead was in him bodily." They then asked me a great deal about Shoojah Almoolk, and Shah Zemaun, both of them Ex-Kings of Affghanistaun, now residing at Loodiana, and pensioned by the British Government. I was not able to give any account about them. After this, Goosh-Bekee took me alone, and said to me, "If ever you see the Governor General in India, or the King of England at London, tell them, that the King, the Mullahs, and myself wish, that the English Government should send an Ambassador to this place, and that he may bring his wife with him, and as soon as he is changed, he may take her back with him; (for there is a law existing at Bokhara, that females once entering Bokhara cannot leave it again;) and we wish farther some English officers to teach our troops the European discipline; and if the Ambassador would bring some presents of watches for the King, they would be acceptable: the Governor of Orenburg has lately sent us 700 Persian manuscripts; beside this, a physician would be welcome at Bokhara."

*March 19.*—This day was a joyful day to me: Rabbi Pinehas Ben Simha professed his belief in the Lord Jesus Christ; he was fully convinced by the prophecies I pointed out to him. He told me that Rabbi Pinehas the elder had been convinced of the same truth; he advised me however not to speak with every Jew at Bokhara about religion, as many Jews are ignorant and obstinate. I have addressed the following

LETTER TO RABBI PINEHAS THE ELDER, GREAT RABBI OF THE JEWS  
OF BOKHARA.

"The Lord gives his covenant of peace, unto Rabbi Pinehas.

Know ye, that I, Joseph Wolff, believe, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, who was cut off, but not for himself; and that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, who has given himself up unto death, and interceded for his enemies; and that Jesus of Nazareth is that Messiah, who shall come like the son of man in the clouds of heaven, and shall redeem Israel, saith Joseph Wolff the Englishman."

The following *tribes of Osbek* are within the city of Bokhara: Mankid, of which tribe the present King is. Kaseagle. Ajamyle. Mostan. Mengetshik. Karaboing. Sanses. Moghul. Anti-jane. Monas.

The Nogays, a Tartar tribe coming from Cassan, Astrachan, and other parts of Russia, are employed as interpreters with the Russians, and as clerks; for they read and write the Russian tongue.

Almost every nobleman and every Osbek Mullah has a Nogay as his guest.

Napoleon Bonaparte is well known at Bokhara: his invasion in Russia, and entrance into Moscow, caused great poverty here; for many merchants of this place had depots at Moscow.

The Armenian from Astrachan, who is here, calls often on me; he knows well Alexander Kasembeg, or Mohammed Ali, a Persian, converted by the Scotch and German Missionaries at Astrachan. He told me, that Serope (mentioned in Henry Martyn's life by the name of Serafino) is now Archbishop of Astrachan. Serafino was an Armenian catholic, brought up at Rome, who joined afterwards the Armenian community, and was accordingly employed in the Lazarean college at Moscow.

#### CHIEF MULLAHS AT BOKHARA.

Mullah Tshape Naweess; a gentleman eighty years of age, and highly respected by the King. Makhsoome Daw Mullah Calandar Jan. Daw Mullah Saleh Alem. Makhsoome Daw Mullah Kalaan.

Goosh-Bekee sent again for me, and told me, that the King had given me permission to proceed to Cabool, or wherever I pleased. I drank tea with him. A great many Mullahs were assembled in his room, and again a conversation took place; in which I told them, that the fulness of the Godhead was bodily in Jesus. Every traveller in the East will be aware that those great men are never alone: men of distinction sit around them, and the servants are standing; so that the conversation I had with Goosh-Bekee was heard by all.

The Affghauns who are here, reside chiefly in the caravan-seray of Mullah Bedr-Addeen, whom I have already mentioned.

#### TATSHIK.

I must not pass over with silence the Tatshik, a mighty nation, who are spreading from Karakol to Bokhara, Balkh, Kondoos, Cabool, and Peshawar. They are the original inhabitants of those countries, and it is said of them, that they received the Mohammedan faith by conviction, and not by force of the sword: and therefore they say here, that they were styled by Mohammed, Taj Almakhlook, i. e. Crown of the creation: but this derivation is fanciful, for they had that name from time immemorial.

The Bazaar of Bokhara is visited by merchants of Kashgar, Yurkand, Kokan, Khotan, Herat, Maimona, Ankhoy, Orgauntsh, Candahar, Meshed, Astrachan, Orenburg, and from Hindoostan. The people of Bokhara visit the great fair of Makariev, called here Makria, and go frequently with their merchandise to Saratow; and the Jews go sometimes to Sklov, in the government of Mohilev.

#### AFFGHAUNS.

*March 19.*—I visited to day some learned Affghauns, who came



from Affghanistaun, in order to teach some young men Tawarikh (history), and Ylm Illahyath (divinity), Ylm Nujum (astronomy), Mantak (rhetoric), and Falsafee (philosophy). They told me, that the Affghauns were the descendants of Khaleed the son of Waleed, who was by the father's line a Jew, and by the mother's line a Koreish.

Waleed was an inveterate enemy to Mohammed. Mohammed prayed to God the Lord of the worlds, that some of the family of Waleed should be converted. Gabriel appeared to Mohammed and said to him, "Cease to pray, for a giant of the family of Waleed shall turn to Islam." And that giant was Khaleed the son of Waleed, a mighty man, full of truth and integrity. One day a battle was fought against the Koreish. Khaleed lost his way, and got into the midst of the camp of the enemy. The Koreish asked him, "Who art thou?" Khaleed, who never lied, replied, "I am Khaleed, the son of Waleed, a warrior in the army of the Prophet of God; I came to fight against you, and have lost my way." The Koreish, though infidels, were a highminded people; they replied, "There thou wilt find the army of Mohammed, the son of Abd Ullah; soon it will be decided, who are the true Gods." Khaleed, the brave, replied, "God, and nothing but God, and Mohammed the prophet of God!" He swiftly rode off, the battle was fought, the victory gained, and the Koreish fled. Khaleed turned to Keis Abd Alrasheed, the Affghaun, and said to him, "Go and tell the Affghauns in the mountains of Ghor, that the battle is fought, the victory gained, and our brethren of Khaibar and the Koreish are fled; that the temple of Abraham at Mecca is ours, and the people of Arabia in the desert exclaim, "God, and nothing but God, and Mohammed the prophet of God!"

The same Mullahs at Bokhara repeated to me the story, that their language was the language of Hell; and Affghana, who was the architect employed by Solomon in building the temple, had learned that language of the demon who was chained by Solomon.

I heard the Affghauns in the caravan-seray of Mullah Bedr-Addeen sing the following song:

Who is a King without the name?

*Chorus I.*

It is Doost Mohammed Khan.

*Chorus II.*

It is Doost Mohammed Khan.

What bold slave took up arms against his master?

Shah Kamran,

*Chorus I and II.*

It is Doost Mohammed Khan,

Who put to flight Shah Kamran.

It is Doost Mohammed Khan,

Who has his Seraglio filled with Frank-like

White girls of the Siyapoosh Kaffrestaun.

*Chorus.*

It is Doost Mohammed Khan,  
Who has opened the road from Cabool  
To Boot-Bamian.

*Chorus I and II.*

It is Doost Mohammed Khan,  
Who subdued Ali Beyk of Seikhan.  
It is Doost Mohammed Khan!  
It is Doost Mohammed Khan!

After the death of Shah Mahmood, King of the Affghauns, Futteh Khan, Doost Mohammed Khan, Kohandeel Khan, Peer Khan, and Sultan Mohammed, his slaves, rebelled. Futteh Khan, who had taken Heraut, was first blinded, and then killed by Shah Kamran of the old dynasty. Doost Mohammed Khan, his brother, took possession of Cabool. Kohandeel Khan took possession of Candahar with some of his other brothers; and Sultan Mohammed Khan with Peer Khan, of Peshawr. Doost Mohammed Khan is the most clever of the brothers. As my friend, Lieut. Arthur Conolly, has given an exact account of the political change of Affghanistaun, I abstain from doing so.

One of the Affghauns observed, "As soon as the Franks (English) let loose Shoojah Almoolk, there will neither be a Doost Mohammed, nor a Kohandeel Khan, nor a Sultan Mohammed Khan. Affghanistaun must be governed again by a crowned King; we are neither Balkhwee,\* nor Hazarah, nor Turkomauns. Hindoostaun has belonged to us, now we are afraid of Runjud Singh, an infidel. Let the Franks give us a King, and we are their humble slaves! The Franks have taken Hindoostaun, not by the sword, but by knowledge, justice and equity; and they shall take the world by knowledge. Let us look at their women at Bombay, with their graceful and high breasts, firm like a wall; and who know to read and to write."

The oriental people are after all the most clever and extensive travellers in their country. I frequently saw, when travelling in the desert of Egypt, men and women eighty years of age, performing their pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Thus I met here an old Osbek Mullah, who had travelled in Yarkand, China, Tibet, Cashmeer, Calcutta, Bombay, Mecca, Egypt and Constantinople; he went from Bombay to Calcutta in a ship commanded by a Captain Taylor. He desired me to read some portion of the Bible to him, which I did. He observed that I would be received well at Samarcand, "The ornament of the face of the Earth," as it is called.

## ARMIES OF THE DIFFERENT KINGS IN TOORKESTAUN.

The King of Bokhara cannot place in the field above 20,000 men, who would mostly consist of cavalry; for though he has 100 cannons, he has no men who know well the use of them.

\* Balkhwee are Barbarian Nomades, wandering about in the mountains of Hindoo Koosh, between Kholm and Cabool; they are robbers and murderers.

Mohammed Moorad Beyk, King of Kondo, has not above 12,000 men.

King of Khiva, 30,000 men.

The King of Shahr Sabz, whose name is Yadkar Beyk, son of Attalek, can place 4000 men.

Daniel, King of Kokan, can place 100,000 men.

There are at Bokhara 100 colleges filled with Mullahs: the books they read are, Jelaal, Beidaavee, and all the ancient commentators of the Koran: they take all their Astronomical, Astrological, Medical and Philosophical knowledge from the Koran and its commentators.

The Sooffees of Bokhara are quite different from those of Sheeras, and Meshed: those of Sheeras and Meshed are mystical infidels, and antinomians; but the Sooffees of Bokhara strictly believe in the Koran, and try to regulate their life accordingly; they are not addicted to such abominable crimes as the rest of the Mohammedans at Bokhara are, and try to come near to God.

The Kings of Bokhara and Khiva have established order in their capitals, and in their neighbouring territories. The King of Bokhara has established order as far as Balkh, and the King of Khiva throughout his country.

#### BABA DEEN,

The great Patron Saint of Bokhara, lived some hundred years ago, and was, as the Dervishes explain it, drunk with the love of God, walking about naked in the streets of Bokhara. Baba Deen was highly respected by the King of Bokhara. At present, pilgrimages are performed to him; and the King of Kondo, notwithstanding the deadly enmity he bears to the King of Bokhara, sends every year an offering of rice for Baba Deen at Bokhara.

The memory of this Dervish is highly revered; but the Dervishes now living, are generally hated by the stiff orthodox Mullahs.

In every denomination of religion, there are among its professors two kinds of people: first, those who content themselves with a cold orthodox creed, whilst they do not seek after internal religion, and close communion with God. This is the case among the professors of the Christian religion, and this I found to be the case with the Mohammedans. To the first class, the Mullahs of Bokhara belong; to the second class, the Dervishes of Bokhara, who are generally Sooffees, but of a different character from those of Persia. The Sooffees of Bokhara, are people who really try, as they express themselves, "to come nearer to God," by a moral life, separation from the world, meditation, prayer, and reading the books of other religious sects. Many of them are like Cornelius of Cesarea, whose prayers and alms went up as a memorial before God. These are termed hypocrites by the Mullahs; and as there are some hypocrites among the Bokhara Sooffees, they believe it right to reject the whole sect.

Whilst at Bokhara, I remember having heard a conversation be-

tween two Jewesses at the house of one Ruben, a Jew from Meshed. The gossip was precisely of that turn, so common even amongst the fashionable circles of women in Europe, especially in ball rooms; marking out certain ladies of their acquaintance, as assuming a degree of piety and modesty, with which their conduct on some occasions was known not very strictly to accord; observing that they were very gay in their younger days; that one does not become worse by going to balls; that enthusiasm does a vast deal of harm, especially among young people; that many fine, beautiful ladies do not get husbands on that very account. Tell a Turkomaun woman, that a certain lady is of an ancient tribe, and another will instantly relate something to detract from the character of her ancestors. The world is everywhere the same; there is not the least difference between the nature of an unconverted Turkomaun woman, and that of a fashionable lady in high circles of society in England, or like a spinster 36 years of age, anxious to get a husband and jealous of the happy lot of a girl of seventeen years of age.

#### DEPARTURE FROM BOKHARA.

I prepared for leaving Bokhara. Some of the inhabitants called on me the evening before, and related to me how harshly they had been treated by Tshingis Khan on his arrival in that town.

The King of Bokhara sent me my passport, through an officer of the Custom-house: I have before me the original, of which I give the translation, made by the private Monshee of Lord William Bentinck, Governor General in India, when at Simlah.

“The high order has been issued, that Joseph Wolff, the Englishman, return to his country. It is therefore ordered, that no one shall detain or molest him on his road. This command is to be executed. Bokhara, Shabaan 1247. Hegira.”

*March 21.*—Goosh-Bekee sent for the chief of the caravan and for Yehoodah Cashi, a Jew from Balkh, who were leaving Bokhara for that place. He particularly recommended me to their protection, and I set out with them; three more Jews joined us on the road. I proclaimed the Gospel of Christ to Yehoodah Cashi from Balkh.

*March 22.*—We made about 28 English miles in the desert.

*March 23.*—Again 28 miles through the desert. A Mullah from Balkh, and some of the servants of Aishaun Khoja, Governor of Balkh, who were our travelling companions, shewed me very great attention. There were people from Ankhoi and Cabool in the caravan. I never remained with the caravan, but always rode on before with the Mullah from Balkh, who spoke Arabic, and became my great friend.

*March 24.*—I arrived at Jendeer. This village is inhabited by Turkomauns, subject to the King of Bokhara. We stopt there till

*March 26.*—When we arrived in the evening among the Kara Turkomauns, they came out to touch my Bible, for which they have a great veneration. Here we arrived at the banks of the Oxus, called “Labbe Darya,” (Lip of the sea.)



*March 30.*—We crossed again the Oxus, and arrived at Kirkee, inhabited by Tatshik, and governed by a covetous Governor; but the Mullah of Balkh, whose name is Mullah Khoja Rooshnay, said to me, "First, we became friends together; after this, I became your brother, and therefore I shall assist you that you may escape the attention of the Governor." He took me into his room, where I stopt quietly until we left the place; in the evening, I read to him, at his request, some portions of the Gospel.

In the evening, the merchants of Cabool came to me, and asked me whether I was in want of money; for they readily would give it to me, and I might pay it back to them at Cabool. I shewed Mullah Khoja Rooshnay my firman from the Sultan of Constantinople: he performed pilgrimage to it;\* for the Sultan of Constantinople stands in high veneration at Toorkestaun: he is considered as the Khaleefa, Successor of Mohammed.

*April 3.*—We made again 30 English miles, and slept in a sandy desert.

*April 4.*—We made again 30 English miles, and slept in the desert; when we were alarmed with a report, that the Kadaghan, a tribe under Mohammed Moorad Beyk of Kondo, had invaded the territory of Balkh; but it proved to be false.

Myself, the Mullah, the Jew, and my servant, rode on swiftly before the caravan, and arrived at Balkh on the seventh day of April. We rode 80 miles in two days.

#### ARRIVED AT BALKH.

*April 7.*—I arrived at Balkh, the mother of cities, and lodged with Mullah Yehoodah Cashi, the Jew, my fellow traveller, in the Jewish quarter, which is closed in by a gate, and shut up on a Sabbath day. Both chief Rabbis Mullah Benjamin Cashi, for whom I had a letter from the Jews of Meshed, and Mullah Simha called on me. I entered with them into an argument about Jesus Christ the very first hour of my arrival: they desired the Gospel in Hebrew, but alas, I had it not to give them. I promised to send it to them after my arrival in India. Mullah Yehoodah Cashi behaved very badly to me, for which he was reproved by the Rabbis: he first put me into a most filthy apartment; but when he saw that I wanted to go to the caravan-seray, he gave me a very nice room up stairs: he actually gave me nothing to eat, except some Indian corn, and cheated me as much as he could. My servant told me after this, that Yehoodah Cashi had told him, that he would try to get rid of me as soon as possible, in order that I may not infect the Jews with my doctrine; and that he believed he should be doing an acceptable thing before God, to cheat me as much as he could; for I was a heretic, and not a real Jew.

\* "Perform the Pilgrimage to it," an expression used in Toorkestaun, for conveying the idea of their performance of devotion to some holy thing; just as they do to the holy things on their pilgrimage to Mecca, or to the tomb of Shahe Merdaan, i. e. Ali at Mazaur.

*April 8.*—I proclaimed the Gospel to Mullah Benjamin, and proved to him, that Joseph's history was a type of Jesus of Nazareth. I scarcely ever saw a Rabbi so teachable as Mullah Benjamin.

At Balkh are 100 Jewish families, or 500 souls. The rest of the inhabitants of that city are, Tatshik, Osbek, Affghauns, a few Hindoo merchants, a few Nogays from Cassan, and Arabs. Near Balkh are villages entirely inhabited by Arabs, who speak the Arabic language. One of those Arab villages is called Joktan, probably of the Arab tribe Joktan, who still inhabit the country of Hadramawt and Yemen, mentioned in Genesis x. 26.

*April 9.*—I was again visited by Mullah Benjamin, to whom I preached that Jesus was the Son of God. The more I see of this country, the more I am convinced that there is not a more hopeful field for a Missionary than Toorkestaun. The Persian likes to read the Bible, and to converse about religion for the sake of curiosity; but the Turkomauns in the desert, with all their barbarity, and the people of Bokhara, with all their corruption, and the inhabitants of Balkh, like to converse about religion, and to hear of it, from a genuine feeling for religion. The Jews of Balkh, and even the bigotted Yehoodah permitted me to read in the Law of Moses in their synagogue, and to preach to them Christ.

#### AISHAUN KHOJA.\*

I called on Aishaun Khoja, the Governor of Balkh, who is strictly subject to the King of Bokhara; he is a Sooffee from Bokhara, and a Khoja. This Governor is very often driven out of Balkh by the King of Kondo, Mohammed Moorad Beyk. Whenever he goes to Akhtsha, a distance of eight English miles from Balkh, he makes every night excursions with his soldiers, until the people of Kondo are obliged to leave the city of Balkh again. Aishaun Khoja has no nose; he therefore conceals that part of his face with a handkerchief; he was just surrounded by Mullahs, with whom he was reading Jelaal. There was a Nogay Tatar, who was a Mullah by profession, and who came from Cassan; he was well versed in the Russian tongue.

As Aishaun Khoja had heard, that I was a believer in Jesus, he desired me to give him the blessing (Fatha). I read instead of it the Sermon on the Mount in the presence of the rest, and he desired Mullah Simha, the Jew, who had accompanied me, to read a portion from the Old Testament to him.

#### BALKH.

From Aishaun Khoja, and the rest of the Mullahs, I was informed again, that Balkh had been built by a son of Adam, and that it was first called Hanah, then Halah, then Balakh, and after this, Balkh. Compare Genesis iv. 17, with 2 Kings xvii. 6. Balkh was several times destroyed and built up again; but it never

\* *Khoja*; in Persia they call an eunuch Khoja: but in Toorkestaun one of the family of Mohammed is called Khoja.

was rebuilt after the great destruction by Tshingis Khan, who destroyed the town, and put to death the inhabitants thereof. Balkh may now contain 10,000 inhabitants. As in Rome, one passes through an extensive tract of ground in the midst of the city, so that he would think himself in the desert, but is still within the town; thus it is within the very walls of Balkh, and then after an hour's ride, one meets with mighty ruins. Before its destruction, it must have been larger than Bokhara.

There are some effects of Morecroft still in Aishaun Khoja's hands; and if somebody would go there with letters from the Governor General of India, Aishaun Khoja would be honest enough to deliver them to him. Morecroft's body was carried from Ankhoi to Balkh, and buried there in the sepulchre of the Jews; but the Jews protested against it, and he was taken away and buried separately.

I went back to my lodging. Yehoodah Cashi shewed me the Talmud, (the treatise of Berachoth,) in which it is said, that God weeps every night three times, on account of his having destroyed the Temple; which Rabbi Eliezer proves in that treatise by Jeremiah xxv. 30, "The Lord shall roar from on high, and utter his voice from his holy habitation; he shall give a shout, as they that tread the grapes, against all the inhabitants of the earth." Mullah Yehoodah confessed, that there are stories in the Talmud, which have no common sense. Rabbi Eliezer says in the same treatise of Berachoth, that there are three watches in the night: the first watch is, when the ass brays; the second, when the dog barks; and the third, when the mother suckles her baby. Rabbi Isaac Bar Samuel says in the same treatise, "God roars like a lion, and says, 'Woe that I have destroyed my house, and burnt my temple, and sent my children into captivity among the nations of the world!'"

I found the climate at Balkh very injurious to my health; and both the water and the bread are very unhealthy: the people of Balkh confirm this truth, by looking quite yellow and pale. I determined therefore to leave Balkh immediately without a caravan, and hired a muleteer from Cabool, promising to pay him on my arrival at Cabool.

#### DEPARTURE FROM BALKH.

*April 10.*—I left the Mother of cities, as they call this capital of Bactria, and after three hours arrived at Mazaur, 12 English miles from Balkh.

A kind hearted Tatshik, who has been to Mecca, gave a room in his house. He was a relation of the Governor of Mazaur, in whose hands all the property of the companions of Morecroft was deposited. My muleteer, who had been the muleteer of Morecroft, and who asserts, that the whole of that party was poisoned by the Governor of Mazaur, made me promise, that I should not make it known there that I was an Englishman; without which promise, he would not have left Balkh with me. I managed it in the following manner: (for I told my muleteer, that I would not betray myself, although I should speak the truth.)

*Host.* Who are you?

*Myself.* A Christian pilgrim who has been at Jerusalem.

*H.* Where is your house?

*M.* At Malta; whose inhabitants are descendants of Arabians.\*

*H.* Who is Governor there?

*K.* Ponsonby Khan.

*H.* How far are you from Constantinople?

*M.* If you go in one of our boats, called steam-boats, you may be there in four days.

The Governor of Mazaur is only nominally subject to the King of Bokhara, and is even frequently in alliance with Mohammed Moorad Beyk of Kondoz.

#### MAZAUZ.

Mazaur contains about 10,000 inhabitants, and is a famous place of pilgrimage. They pretend falsely, and against all Mohammedan history, that Ali, who is here called Shahe Merdaan, (King of men), arrived here from Arabia, riding upon a camel; and soon after becoming ill, he said, "Upon the spot where my camel is standing, there I wish to be buried." He died, and was buried upon the spot where his camel stood. After he was buried, his camel disappeared in the presence of thousands of people.

Pilgrims come from Affghanistaun, Cashmeer, Kokan, Shahr-Sabz, Hindoostaun, Khiva and Bokhara; and abundance of miracles are related as being performed there: such as sick camels becoming healed, barren women becoming fruitful; and impotent men gaining strength.

*April 12.*—I left Mazaur with a caravan for Khoolloom, which is likewise called Tatshgorkhan, or Tashgora; the road towards it from Mazaur is very dangerous; for the people of Mohammed Moorad Beyk attack here generally the caravans. Khoolloom is inhabited by about 8000 Tatshik, and a few Hindoo merchants. It was here, that Mr. Morecroft was taken hold of and carried to Kondoz, where he was obliged to ransom himself with a large sum. The Chief of the Custom-house here is a Hindoo. This day I did not stir out of my room.

*April 14.*—We left Khoolloom, and arrived at a village called Hasrate Sultan. Here is the sublime Indian Caucasus, generally called Hindoo Koosh, a branch of the mighty Himmalayah: one begins to pass between two lofty and mighty walls, over green grass, and along rivulets of clear water. It is 30 English miles from the former place.

*April 15.*—We arrived at Eybak, 24 English miles from Hasrate Sultan.

*April 16.*—We were frightened by a tribe of Kadaghan and Balkhwee, robbers in the mountains, so that we were obliged to hide ourselves in the clefts of the rocks. We arrived near the

\* Every body knows that Malta is inhabited by descendants of Phenicians.



ruined place called Khoram, where we again slept in the clefts of a rock. Here, Tshingis Khan died from the effects of a melon, sent to him from Balkh, in which there was a little pernicious insect.

*April 17.*—We arrived at Rohee, where the Hazarah live in holes and caverns of the rocks, 24 English miles distant from the former place.

#### ARRIVAL AT DOOAB.

As my people, namely, one Mohammedan and two Jewish servants, and my muleteers knew, that I had been at Jerusalem, they called me Hadjee, i. e. Pilgrim; and the Mohammedans of Bokhara, the Turkomauns in the desert, and the inhabitants of Mazaur, treat with distinction any Christian or Jewish Hadjee; but the Sheah (followers of Ali) have no regard except for a Mohammedan Hadjee. Arriving at Dooab, I sat down upon the ground; and being asked for my name, I replied, "Hadjee Youssuf;" they desired my blessing, which I gave to them. They then asked my Mohammedan servant, whether I was a Mussulman; he replied, "Yes;" I, on hearing it, said, "No;" then they asked me why I had given them the blessing; I answered, "I am a believer in Jesus Christ, and was respected at Bokhara as a Hadjee, because I was at Jerusalem." *The Chief of the place:* Now say, God is God, and Mohammed the Prophet of God; else we will kill you. *Myself:* I am a believer in Jesus. The Chief assembled the Mullahs, who looked into the Koran, and I was sentenced to be burnt alive. I appealed to Mohammed Moorad Beg, and told them that I was an Englishman. *Mullahs:* Then purchase thy blood. *Myself:* Then take all I have. And thus they did; they stripped me of every thing, even of my three shirts, and the only bed cover I had with me. Dooab is 16 miles from Roohe.

*April 19.*—We arrived at Matar, 16 E. m. from Dooab. The Emeer\* treated me kindly; but knowing me to be a Christian, he desired me to give him brandy; for they always procured brandy from the Armenians of Cabool; but I never had spirits with me, therefore his desire was not satisfied.

*April 20.*—We arrived at Kamard, 12 English miles from Matar, and were hospitably received by the Hazarah Chief, Rehmut Ullah Khan, who literally spends his time as described in Isaiah v. 11, sitting under a tree of roses: he has players on the timbrel around him, and drinks brandy from morning till night.

#### BALKHWEES.

A tribe is wandering about in these parts, who are robbers and murderers; they are called Balkhwee, and make this whole road dangerous. Rehmut Ullah Khan is a terror to them; he had three of them going about in irons in his house, who he had taken prisoners. Their religion is not known. They speak a corrupt Persian. As soon as they are taken, they are made slaves.

\* Emeer is the title which those petty chiefs in the mountains bear.

Rehmut Ullah Khan is a tall, stern looking man, without a beard, as is the case with most of the Hazarah, and with all the people of Great and Little Tibet who I have seen. He is tributary to Mohammed Moorad Beyk, and his great friend.

*April 23.*—We arrived at Seighan; here I learnt that two English gentlemen had arrived at Peshawr with fifteen servants, who were going to reclaim the property of Mr. Morecroft's party at Mazaur.

The Chief of Seighan is only nominally subject to Doost Mohammed Khan of Cabool. He is a robber, but I had nothing with me for him to take.

*April 23.*—We arrived at Soorkhdar, 20 English miles from Seighan. This is the first place belonging to Doost Mohammed Khan of Cabool.

*April 24.*—We arrived at

#### BOOT-BAMIAN,

30 English miles from Seighan; it must have been a large town in former times. There are still idols of stone of an immense height preserved, on which account it is called Boot-Bamian, for Boot is the Persian word for Idol. The country round Boot-Bamian was at this time disturbed; as Doost Mohammed Khan had had of late some dissensions with the Chiefs of the Sheah, being himself a Sunnee.

The Governor of this place is a servant of Haje Khan, one of the chief men of Doost Mohammed Khan at Cabool. He gave me two letters, one for the Chief of the village Tobtshee, and the other for the Chief of Kaloo, desiring the latter to assist me in my passage across the snowy mountains. The Governor advised me however, not to inform Yezdoon Bakhsh, a Chief in the mountain, whose territory we had to pass, that I was an Englishman; for as he had declared himself just now a rebel against Doost Mohammed Khan, he would certainly try to extort money from me, as he did from Morecroft, though I was entirely destitute of every thing. We went that same day to Tobtshee, and remained there till April 27. Tobtshee is 12 miles from Boot-Bamian.

*April 27.*—We arrived at Kaloo, where I delivered the letter to the Chief. He tore the letter, cursed my wives and children, and the wives and children of the Governor of Boot-Bamian, and the wives and the slaves and children of Doost Mohammed Khan, and said, "We have sent a deputation to Doost Mohammed Khan; if he grants our request, well; if not, we will stop every caravan, and put in irons every merchant, that passes this road." He however suffered me to continue my journey, and we made as much haste as we could. The reason of the anger of the Chief of Kaloo, was, that the Governor of Boot-Bamian had taken forcible possession of a fort belonging to the Hazarahs, who are in alliance with the inhabitants of Kaloo.

*April 28.*—We arrived in the village of the rebel Chief, Yezdoon Bakhsh, 12 English miles from Kaloo. I was in such a

miserable condition, covered with rags, that he could never suspect me of being an Englishman; and after asking a few questions of my muleteer, without even looking at me, we continued our journey on foot, wading through the snow.

*April 29.*—We slept in the village called Sayd Kalaa, which means the Castle of Sayds, of the family of Mohammed; the inhabitants of this village are Hazarah; they are governed by four Sayd, who are only nominally subject to Doost Mohammed Khan of Cabool. One of the Hazarah gave me his stable to sleep in; but suddenly a Sayd came, and said that a Christian ought to sleep in the open air. If there had been no snow, and if I had not been entirely without clothes, I would immediately have followed his order; but under these circumstances, I made an attempt to mollify the Sayd, who went away without saying one word more on the subject.

*April 30.*—We arrived at Serre Cheshme, 20 miles from the former place. This village belongs to Nawaub Jabr Khan, brother to Doost Mohammed Khan. The same day I arrived at another village belonging to the same man; both villages are inhabited by Tatshik. I sent my servant on to Doost Mohammed Khan at Cabool, announcing my arrival in his territory, and pursued my journey slowly. We passed through the villages Mydaun and Kel-laa Kazee, and stopt at Dedona, fifty English miles from Serre-Cheshme.

My muleteer took me into his house; but being afraid that I should not be able to pay him, he determined to keep me, until my servant returned with an answer that my debt should be paid.

I prayed to Jesus Christ my Saviour, who never left a prayer of mine unheard, to assist me in my present trouble; when suddenly on the 1st of May my servant appeared, with a horse from Lieutenant Burnes, with clothes from Nawaub Jabr Khan, and a letter from Mr. Burnes, which I subjoin.

*Cabool, May 1, 1832.*

My dear sir,

I most heartily beg to congratulate you, in the name of myself and fellow traveller (Doctor Gerard), at the success which has attended your arduous and perilous journey through Toorkestaun. We have just arrived at this city from India on our route to that country, under instructions from the Supreme Government of British India, and for purposes which I shall unfold to you when we have the pleasure of meeting. I wrote these few hurried lines to beg you will not think of delaying in the environs of this city, but come at once to Cabool, where you may equip yourself in any manner which you desire; you need not think of your dress, however bad, for although we are only about to enter our difficulties, you will find us without the dress, and without all the comforts of Englishmen.

I learn that you are thinking of putting up with the Armenians in Cabool; but I beg to offer you my strongest and most earnest advice, to alight at where we are, the quarters of Nawaub Jabar

Khan, the brother of Doost Mohammed Khan. The Nawaub himself anxiously expects you, and he is a sincere friend to Europeans, and desirous of cultivating their esteem. Every one of our countrymen, who has passed through this country, has shared his hospitality,\* and the good man himself has quite the character of a Patriarch. The British Government has no intercourse with the Chief himself. I need not say how glad we shall be to have you under the same roof, which shelters ourselves, and with how much pleasure we shall hear you recount the many adventures and dangers, which are incidental to a journey like that which you have performed. Since entering Affghanistaun in the middle of last March, I have been making many enquiries regarding you; but could glean no tidings till my arrival here a few hours ago. I happened to be living with Lord Bentinck, at the time the letters announcing your approach, from yourself and Captain Campbell, were received; but the long lapse of time had dimmed my hopes of meeting you.

I grieve to say that my fellow traveller has been for some time past much indisposed; but he joins me in wishing you to loose no time in coming here. Till then believe me,

My dear sir, yours most faithfully,

ALEXANDER BURNES."

I immediately set off for Cabool, which is only three miles distant from Dedona. I need not say, that I met with a very kind reception from Nawaub Jabar Khan, and Dr. Gerard; and Lieutenant Burnes, at the time, professed himself very cordial. Though he did not act a very upright part.

In the afternoon the Jews and Armenians called on me. There were formerly 50 families of Jews, and 50 Armenians here, both of them brought here by Ahmed Shah from Meshed, 60 years ago; but as they were no longer allowed to sell brandy, most of them left Cabool. The Jews, ten months ago, went back to Meshed, and the Armenians to Erivaun. There are now only 4 Jewish families and 4 Armenian men, and 19 Armenian ladies. I proclaimed the Gospel to the Jews.

*May 2.*—The two principal Armenians, Simon Macarditch, and Kevork Zohrab David, called on me, and desired me to preach next Sunday in their church in the Persian language, which I did. They informed me, that two Armenians are in the military service of Runjeed Singh, the King of the Seiks, both stationed at Cashmeer. One of them, Vosgan Baghtasar, is from Erivan, and the other, Hakobus Hoannes, from Cabool.

*May 4.*—Lieut. Burnes and myself dined with Doost Mohammed Khan. He entered with Lieut. Burnes into conversation about the state of India, &c. And as he knew that I was a Mullah, he

\* By this paragraph of Mr. Burnes' own letter it is clear that Mr. Burnes, as well as myself, were the guests of Nawaub Jabar Khan, who never permitted either Burnes or myself to spend one single farthing for our victuals.



desired one of the Mullahs to converse with me, which I did *without an interpreter* in the Persian tongue, and not as Burnes tries to make one believe, that I had made use of him as interpreter.

*Affghaun Mullah.* Who was Jesus?

*Myself.* The son of God.

*A. M.* God has no wife.

*M.* There are even among men different kinds of sons: a benevolent man, who brings up an orphan, clothes and feeds him, becomes thus the father of the orphan, and the child becomes his son. We are all in a certain sense the sons of God; for he is our Creator and Preserver. Jesus Christ is the Son of God; for he was born, as your Koran itself states, by the power of the Holy Ghost; and as the Koran beautifully expresses it, 'God said, let it be, and it was.' Jesus is called the Son of God, for the fulness of the Godhead was in him bodily. His spirit of wisdom, and His spirit of Might! We should consider those, who might say that Jesus was the Son of God, like a son from a man and wife, to be an infidel.

*A. M.* To what place did Jesus go?

*M.* He went to heaven.

*A. M.* How is it possible that he should go to heaven with a body?

*M.* How do you wish me to consider you? if as a believer in the Koran, I shall answer from your own book; if I have to consider you as a Kafer, (infidel,) I must take another ground.

*A. M.* God forbid that you should take me as a Kafer, I am a Mussulman.

*M.* Then how could Mohammed go to heaven, which is asserted by your Hadees?

*A. M.* The angel Gabriel carried him there.

*M.* And Jesus was carried there by the power of God; and it is even stated in the Koran, that Jesus went to heaven.

*A. M.* I read the Gospel of Luke and Matthew, when at Candahar.

Doost Mohammed Khan sent for one of the slaves of the Kaffer Siyapoosh, in order that I might question him. He was a boy about 12 years of age, of white complexion. I asked him the name of God in their language, and he told me that they call God Imra.

*May 5.*—The Armenians called again on me, and told me that they were in possession of a book written by Meiden Nerses, Patriarch of Ech-Miazin, in which he predicts, that all the Armenians shall collect around Mount Ararat, before the coming of the Lord, in order that they may not see Antichrist.

*May 6.*—I preached in Persian in the Armenian Church. All the women came and fell at my feet, praying that I would assist them to leave Cabool, and go to Jerusalem; they are not oppressed by the Mussulmans, but they have no means of subsistence.

#### CHERAGH KUSH, (LIGHT KILLERS.)

At Cabool and the surrounding villages a sect of *Ali Ullahe*, believers in the divinity of Ali, exists, who are likewise called Che-

ragh Kush, (Light killers,) because they extinguish the lights on a certain night, and commit abominations.

A whole village of Mussulmans near Cabool abjured the Mohammedian creed, and turned to this sect; the neighbouring villages have now begun a crusade against them.

#### INHABITANTS OF CABOOL.

Tatshik, Affghauns, Jehaansheer (Persians from Shooshe), Cashmeer people, Hindoos, Mawrulnehree (Bokhara people), Belooj, Arabs (carried there by Nadir Shah\*), Jews, Armenians, Kaffre, Siyapoosh (who are brought here as slaves), and Khybaree. The Jehaansheer are Sheah, and therefore friends of the Persian Government; they wrote to Abbas Mirza, inviting him to come to Cabool.

#### MULLAH MOHAMMED ALI BOBE.

I met here with Mullah Mohammed Ali Bobe, born at Salegan, near Poona, in the service of the Honourable Company as surveyor. He has been at Japan, China, Siam, Java, Sumatra, Coromandel-coast, Bengal, Tekka, Malabar, Hindoostaun, Punjaub, Himalaya-mountains, England, Isle of France, and Affghanistaun. He speaks English, Persian, Portuguese, Malayen, Malabar, Gusrate, Marate, and Hindoostanee.

#### HISTORY OF THE AFFGHAUNS.

Mullah Khodadad, an Affghaun, called on me, and gave me the following information about the origin and descent of the Affghauns. Affghana was the nephew of Asaph, the son of Berachia, who built the Temple of Solomon. One year and a half after Solomon's death, he was banished from Jerusalem to Damascus, on account of his ill conduct. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the Jews were driven out from Palestine, and carried to Babylon. The descendants of Affghana, residing at Damascus, being Jews, were also carried to Babylon, from whence they removed, or were removed to the mountain of Ghore in Affghanistaun, their present place of residence; and in the time of Mohammed they turned Mohammedans. This is the oral account I heard from Mullah Khodadad. In order that the public may know every thing concerning the Affghauns, and every one judge for himself, I shall mention all that I have read or heard about them.

#### ACCOUNTS

Given in the book called "Majmooa Alansab," Collection of genealogies, written in Persian.

Jacob begat Judah; Judah begat Ushruah; Ushruah begat Ukhnuakh; Ukhnuakh begat Falegh; Falegh begat Keis; Keis begat Talut, (King Saul; ) Talut begat Irmiah, (Jeremiah;) Irmiah begat

\* One may observe from this, that the custom of transportation of nations by the conquerors, as in the time of the Jews, has been continued in those countries.

Affghana. Keis, one of the descendants of Affghana, the son of Ameer, went in the time of Mohammed to Medinah. Khaleed, the son of Waleed, of the great followers of Mohammed, asked him about the condition and state of his countrymen the Affghauns; and Mohammed himself enquired about their names.\* Keis the son of Ameer turned Mohammedan, for which he received by Mohammed the surname of Keis Alrasheed, i. e. the Brave; and Affghauns in general, received the name of Pathan, i. e. Root, after their conversion to Islamism.†

The same manuscript, Majmooa Alansab, gives then a second genealogy, from a certain Keis, described as the son of Ais, up to Adam.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1 Keis son of Ais.                                   | 27 Saheb son of Talal.                       |
| 2 Ais son of Solool.                                 | 28 Talal son of Loe.                         |
| 3 Solool son of Ataba.                               | 29 Loe son of Ameal.                         |
| 4 Ataba son of Naim.                                 | 30 Ameal son of Tareej.                      |
| 5 Naim son of Marra.‡                                | 31 Tareej son of Arzand.                     |
| 6 Marra son of Haland.                               | 32 Arzand son of Mandool.                    |
| 7 Haland son of Secandar.                            | 33 Mandool son of Salam.                     |
| 8 Secandar son of Samaan.                            | 34 Salam son of <i>Affghana</i> .            |
| 9 Samaan son of Ghaneen.                             | 35 <i>Affghana</i> son of Irmiah (Jeremiah). |
| 10 Ghaneen son of Mahlool.                           | 36 Irmiah s. of Talut (Saul).                |
| 11 Mahlool son of Shallum.                           | 37 Talut son of Keis (Kish).                 |
| 12 Shallum son of Shelah.                            | 38 Keis son of Ataba.                        |
| 13 Shelah son of Kahrut.                             | 39 Ataba son of Ais.                         |
| 14 Kahrut son of Atham.                              | 40 Ais son of Reuel.                         |
| 15 Atham son of Phalul.                              | 41 Reuel son of Jehudah.                     |
| 16 Phalul son of Karam.                              | 42 Jehudah son of Jacob.                     |
| 17 Karam son of Amaal.                               | 43 Jacob s. of Ishak (Isaac).                |
| 18 Amaal son of Hoseifa.                             | 44 Ishak son of Abraham.                     |
| 19 Hoseifa son of Minhaal.                           | 45 Abraham son of Tarukh (Terah).            |
| 20 Minhaal son of Keis.                              | 46 Tarukh son of Nahor.                      |
| 21 Keis son of Aleem.                                | 47 Nahor son of Sarukh.                      |
| 22 Aleem son of Ishmuel, (either Ishmael or Samuel). | 48 Sarukh son of Hud.§                       |
| 23 Ishmuel son of Haroon (Ahron).                    | 49 Hud son of Ghaber.                        |
| 24 Haroon son of Kamrood.                            | 50 Ghaber son of Salekh.                     |
| 25 Kamrood son of Abiah.                             | 51 Salekh son of Fakhshad.                   |
| 26 Abiah son of Saheb.                               | 52 Fakhshad son of Sem.                      |

\* It appears from this account, that the Affghauns had formed at that time an independent Jewish tribe, around the mountain of Ghore; but all the historians of the Mohammedans leave one in many respects in the dark, respecting important points in ancient history.

† Treveleyan, my friend at Simlah, believes Pathan to be merely an Indian name for the Affghauns; and Elphinstone believes it to be derived from Pushtan, the name, they call themselves; and their language is called Pushtoo.

‡ Compare Ruth i. 20.

§ Hud of the Mohammedans, is the Heber of the Scriptures.

53 Sem son of Noah.	57 Idris son of Mahlalel.
54 Noah son of Lamekh.	58 Mahlalel son of Anwash
55 Lamekh son of Manusalakh (Methusalah).	(Enosh).
56 Manusalakh son of Idris	59 Anwash son of Shith (Seth).
(Enoch, Gen. v. 21).*	60 Shith son of Adam.

## REFLECTIONS ON THIS GENEALOGY.

There are certainly a good many scriptural names in this genealogy, which, as they are differently pronounced, are not immediately recognised; and others, though different in name, represent the same identical person, as in Scripture: for instance, Hud is acknowledged to be the Heber of Scripture; Idris the Enoch of Scripture. But let us examine those names, in order that people interested in the history of the Jews, may know how far they may justly give credit to the claims of the Affghauns to be of Jewish descent.

In number 1 and 38, we meet with the name of Keis, corresponding with the scriptural name of Kish, (קיש) 1 Samuel ix. 1, 3, x. 11, 21, 2 Samuel xxi. 14, who was the father of Saul, and corresponds with No. 37, and Kish the son of Gibeon, 1 Chronicles viii. 30; Kish the son of Mahli, 1 Chronicles xxiii. 21, who was of the tribe of Levi, so that he cannot be the Keis son of Ais, who was of the tribe of Judah; and Kish the son of Abdi, in 2 Chronicles xxix. 12, is likewise a Levite. Keis, the son of Ais in No. 1, may perhaps be the Kish, son of Shimei, a Benjamite, mentioned in Esther ii. 5; for, (as the sequel of my investigation will prove) there is a dissention among the Affghauns, whether they were of the tribe of Benjamin, or of the tribe of Judah.

In No. 5, Naim may be the same as Nahum, נחום the Prophet, i. 1; or Naaman נעמן in Genesis xlv. 21, i. e. synonymous in name, though not the same person.

In No. 9, Samaan, the same as Simeon, שמעון occurs only of the son of Jacob in the Bible.

In No. 10, Mahlool, a name still existing among the Jews in Toorkestaun, and is the same as Mahlon, מלון Ruth i. 2.

No. 11, Shallum, שלום frequently occurs in the Bible, and in 1 Chron. ii. 40, Shallum is mentioned of the tribe of Judah, and Shallum, in Ezra x. 42, is described as one who took strange wives.

Shelah, שלה or שלח in No. 12, occurs in Genesis xxxviii. 5, and 1 Chron. i. 18.

Ishmuel, in No. 23, is Ishmael, Gen. xi. 12, ישמעאל pronounced with the Syriac dialect; it is likewise frequently Samuel, שמואל.

Haroon, in the same number, is known to be synonymous with Aaron, אהרן.

Abiah, אביה in No. 26, occurs in 1 Samuel viii. 2, 1 Chron. ii. 24, iii. 10, vii. 8.

Mandool, in No. 33, is a modern name of the Jews in Poland, instead of Menahem, מנחם.

\* Idris of the Mohammedans, is the Enoch of Genesis v. 21.



Irmiah, in No. 36, is the same name as Jeremiah, ירמיה.

Talut, in No. 37, a name given to Saul in the Koran.

Reuel, רעואל in No. 41, was the name of the father-in-law of Moses; but there is no son of Judah in Scripture thus called.

The names and genealogy from No. 42 to 47, agree with the names of the Patriarchs given in Genesis, and again from No. 53 to the end.

Keis the son of Ameer, who was, as above mentioned, surnamed by Mohammed, Alrasheed, had 5 children, whose names were, Sherbane, Pathane, (from whom I believe the Affghaun name Pathan ought to be derived,) Karakhshate, Mathane, and Koorane; from these five children, 397 divisions of Affghauns are descended. Sherbane, the first son of Keis, is the father of 105 tribes. Pathane of 25 tribes. Karakhshate of 95 tribes. Mathane of 52 tribes. Koorane of 120 tribes.

Sherbane had 2 sons: Sharakhboon and Kharashboon. Sharakhboon had 5 children: Sheerane, Tareen, Miyana, Barej, Or-moroo.

Sheerane had 4 sons: Dadam, Dawood, Jalwane, and Barbeal.

Dadam had 4 sons: Omar, Sydane, Babor, Myane.

Jalwane had 7 sons; 6 of his own, and one adopted. The adopted son was called *Banke Kheyl*, now a celebrated tribe of Affghauns.

Omar had 7 children, whose tribe is called Shebrane, who are again divided into Kasb, Yakoob, Thakhtan, Muntakhar, Abulfard, Maheem, Hameem.

Baboor had 2 sons: Anjar and Sanjar.

Sanjar had 5 sons: Masood Kheyl, Khorea Kheyl,\* Ibraheem Kheyl, Yakoob Kheyl, Ismael Kheyl.

Tareed had 3 sons: Toor, Sefeem, Awdall.

Toor had 4 sons: Malmoone, Kandare, Seke, Baboo.

Malmoone had 2 sons: Haroon and Ali.

Kandare had 5 sons: Mandoo-Szeze. Mangal-Szeze. Nekh-bakhtane. Manasse. Tarlase.

Haroon had 9 children; 7 of his own, and 2 adopted sons: Noor-Szeze. Malkea-Szeze. Ismael-Szeze. Bado-Szeze. Hydar-Szeze. Yakoob-Szeze. Aboo Bekr. The adopted were: Kar-bela. Sayd-Szeze.

Aboo-Bekr had 4 sons: Ahmad. Haykal. Khan. Harya.

Tor had 2 sons: Kok and Baade.

Sefeem had 4 sons: Wadeer. Soleyman Lagh. Jaam. Oonjee.

Awdal had 3 sons: Baruch-Szeze. Popal-Szeze. Aliko-Szeze.

Barej had 2 sons: Dawood Lagh and Husseyn.

Dawood Lagh had 6 sons: Sheikh Sabed. Malhe-Szeze. Badal-Szeze. Jopan. Shakar-Szeze. Sabooke-Szeze.

Husseyn had 5 sons: Bargande. Soobah Szeze. Ishak-Szeze. Mando-Szeze. Dawood-Szeze, (of whom there are many at Cabool).

\* *Kheyl* signifies Power, and father of a tribe.

Kharashboon had 3 sons: Gand. Jamand. Kaan-Szeye.

Gand had 2 sons: Ghora and Sheyke.

Ghora had 5 sons: Dawlatyaar. Khaleel. Manoo-Szeye. Szeerana. Jawkan.

Dawlatyaar had 2 sons: Moomand, (a very wild and independent tribe of Affghauns, between Cabool and Peshawr.) Daood Szeye.

Moomand had 11 sons: Yakoob. Khala. Hassan. Malhe. Omar. Mandoo. Mahyaar. Koke. Moosa. Kheyl. Khaleel.

Khaleel, son of Ghor, had 9 sons: Ishak Szeye. Baruk Szeye. Taral Szeye. Mattae Szeye. Noor Szeye. Aboo Szeye. Aka Szeye. Salar Szeye. Daood Szeye of Dawlatyaar.

Daood Szeye of Dawlatyaar had 3 sons: Mahmood. Youssuf. Mandakee.

Sheikha, son of Gand, had 4 sons: Tarkalane. Gighyane. Omar. Youssuf.

Omar, son of Sheikha, had one son called Mandar; and a daughter of Youssuf, the brother of Omar, married Mandar; and on this account the tribe of Mandar is called Youssuf Szeye.\*

Of Youssuf Szeye, two branches came: Youssuf Szeye and Mandar.

Of Youssuf 4 sons came: Elias. Ako. Malhi. Ysa, i. e. Jesus or Joshuah.

Mandar had 4 sons: Manoo Szeye. Khetr Szeye. Rajar Szeye. Masoo Szeye.

Manoo, son of Mandar, had 3 sons: Kamaal Szeye. Ama Szeye. Othman Szeye.

Otham had 4 sons: Sadoo. Aka. Kakna Szeye. Ali.

Sadoo had 6 sons: Beh Zaad. Khafar. Omar. Meer Amed. Aba Kheil. Mohammed.

Children of Jamand, son of Kharashboon. Jamand had 5 sons: Kheishke. Nakbe Szeye. Katane Nookhe. Mohammed Szeye.

Kheishke, son of Jamand, had 6 sons: Shoreane Salmahak. Gaslane. Khareer Szeye. Omar Szeye. Batak Szeye.

Shoreane, son of Kheishke, had 3 sons: Owatoo Szeye. Hus-suyn Szeye. Khalaf Szeye.

Toora had 5 sons: Jonoon. Shehabdeen Szeye. Aref Szeye. Ibraheem Szeye. Ashoo Szeye.

Hussey, son of Shooreane, had 3 sons: Malhi Szeye. Behdeen Szeye. Shanoo Szeye.

Khalaf, son of Shooreane, had 6 sons: Badhawalad. Ysa-Walad. Moosa-Walad. Ali-Walad. Osman-Walad. Mele-Walad.

Beebe (Lady) Mattoo had 3 sons: Ghel Szeye. Ibraheem. Servane.

There is however a doubt whether Servane was the son of Lady or Beebe Mattoo.†

\* Szeye is a Bushtoo word, and means *son*; not every one of the Affghaun Tribes have the addition of the word *Szeye*.

† It may perhaps be considered tiresome to my readers, and a

Ghel Szeze had 3 sons: Ibrahim. Toolar. Poolar.

Looode had 3 sons: Nease. Seane. Tootane.

Servane had 3 sons: Soone. Serpal. Bulli.

Kharakhshate had 3 sons: Daane. Babe. Mandoo.

Daane had 4 sons: Kakar (still a respectable tribe among the Affghauns). Nahgar. Davee. Paniye.

Kakar had 23 sons; 17 of his own and 6 adopted ones: Taghrak. Jetram. Szibran. Sanghoose. Khaste. Tamar. Yoonas Kheyl. Arboo Kheyl. Jelal Kheyl. Mikrane. Anaj. Waseen. Sargare. Ghanee. Targharee. Moosa Szeze. Maale. Adopted ones were: Joorme. Beedar. Gargaranoo. Formole. Leenar. Taran.

Toorgharak, son of Kakar, had 4 sons: Sanja. Yoonos Kheyl. Salar Kheyl. Soondal.

Sanjar, had 12 sons: Ali Kheyl. Arboo Kheyl. Seerat. Key-vee. Hyrtan Szeze. Othman Kheyl. Awdal, and other five whose names are not mentioned.

Jatram son of Kakar had 2 sons: Aboo-Bekr and Hassane.

Aboo-Bekr, had 2 sons: Elias and Sanatea.

Elias had 4 sons: Adam. Satam. Omar. Hassane.

Sanatea had 3 sons: Youssuf. Kheibe. Ysa.

Ali, son of Saram, had 4 sons: Sadoo-Szeze, from whom the present Ex-Kings of Affghanistaun and Kamran, King of Heraut descend. Meer-Szeze. Ghore. Hydar-Szeze.

Sibrao, son of Kakar, had 4 sons: Shade Szeze. Ango Szeze. Fatimah Szeze. Ato Szeze.

Sankho Szeze, son of Kakar, had 8 sons: Shade Kheyl. Ba-joo Kheyl. Ayoob Kheyl. Tajo Szeze. Mando Szeze. Mema Kheyl. Mema Szeze. Sekandar.

Khaste, son of Kakar, had 7 sons.

Damar had 6 sons.

Waseen, son of Kakar, had 7 sons.

Sergane had 8 sons.

Ghane had 9 sons.

Targharee had 10 sons.

Moosa Szeze had 11 sons.

Mane had 12 sons.

want of taste on my part, thus to introduce the whole genealogy of the Affghauns; but considering, that this is the best manner of shewing the origin of a nation, and that a great analogy is observable between the chronicles of the Eastern nations, and those of the Bible, I thought it worth while to insert it; besides, it is to be observed, that as in the Bible the pedigree is sometimes taken from the *woman*, so it is the case here with Bebee or Lady *Mattoo*; as is 2 Sam. iii. 39, viii. 16, and in Isaiah vii. 14, which answers the objection of the Jews against the genealogy of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is, that being from the mother, it did not prove that he was of the house of David. *Attai* was considered a Jew; though his father was an Egyptian; 1 Chronicles ii. 34, 35. The Affghaun Kings who governed in Hindoostaun, were descendants of Bebee Mattoo.

Yonos had 13 sons.  
 Sam Kheyl had 12 sons.  
 Aboo Kheyl had 15 sons.  
 Jelaal Kheyl had 16 sons.  
 Makrane had 18 sons.  
 Anaj had 17 sons.

## KINGS OF THE AFFGHAUNS.

The Affghauns had 23 Kings, who governed Hindoostaun. Eighteen of them are celebrated, and five are obscure. They governed India 123 years. The following are celebrated. Sheer Shah, he governed India from the frontiers of Bengal to Cabool. Isleem Shah. Sultan Balool. Sultan Sekandar. Ibraheem Shah: these governed the whole of Hindoostaun. Sultan Ali. Sultan Shah. Sultan Ahmed Loghane. Sultan Ahmed Adal. Sultan Mahmood. Sultan Secunder, nephew of Sheer Shah. Sultan Ibraheem II. who died a Martyr. Sultan Behador. Sultan Jelal Addeen. Sultan Mohammed. Feerooz Shah. Sultan Kaloo. Sultan Ashraf. Ahmed Sultan. All these have been descendants of Bebee (Lady) Mattoo.

## HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE AFFGHAUNS.

The following historical books are said to give an exact account of the Affghauns. Tawareekh Jehaangeer, Tawareekh Nesaame, Harwee, Teskere Darweiza, Majmooa Alansaab.

My doubts about the Affghauns being descendants of the Jews, are these: they have not the Jewish physiognomy; and the tradition of their being the descendants of the Jews is *not general*. I have already shewn, that some believe them to be the descendants of the Copts. Their genealogy also is confused; and finally, their language does not resemble the Hebrew.

## SPECIMENS OF AFFGHAUN WORDS.

Taken partly from Affghauns themselves, and partly from Elphinstone's Cabool. This language is commonly called Pushtoo.

<i>Affghaun.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Affghaun.</i>	<i>English.</i>
* Khooda	God.	Oosh	Camel.
* Asmaan	Heaven.	Kherre	Wine.
Polar	Father.	Shebe	Tongue.
Mor	Mother.	Ghote	Finger.
Zoe	Son.	Posa	Nose.
Lor	Daughter.	Stereke	Eye.
Wror	Brother.	Roose	Eyebrows.
*Khor	Sister.	Woyole	Brain.
Mera	Husband.	Mokh	Cheeks.
Shese	Wife.	Sheera	Beard.
Alek	Boy.	Wag	Ears.

\* Those words to which the asterisk is affixed, are taken from the Persian.



<i>Affghaun.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Affghaun.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Seray	Man.	Urmag	Neck.
Kele	People.	Wolle	Shoulders.
*Ser	Head.	Lasoone	Arms.
*Obo	Water.	Or†	Light.

EXAMPLE OF THE PUSHTOO CONSTRUCTION OF THE GRAMMAR.

Pushtana Kawoom.	. . .	I ask.
Pushtana Kawee.	. . .	Thou askest.
Pushtana Kawaa.	. . .	He asks.

If these words should be Coptic, the author of the book called “Mutalla Anwar,” would be right in asserting the Affghauns to be descendants of the Copts, who had turned Jews in the time of Moses.

MR. ELPHINSTONE.

Mr. Elphinstone’s name is mentioned in Affghanistaun with affection; they call him Ilfristin. Hajee Meer Abdul Khan Toorane, of the Popul Szeze, was his friend.

*May 10.*—I asked Mullah Khodadad, whether the Sheah were not considered as Mussulmans by the Sunnee. He replied, that the Mullahs of the Sunnee divide themselves on this point into two classes: the *Muhaddeseen*, and the *Mawurulneheree*; the *Muhaddeseen* are those of Cabool, who say, that as the Sheah accept the Hadees (Traditions) beside the Koran, they must be considered as Mussulmans. The *Mawurulneheree* are the Mullahs of Bokhara, who do not consider them as Mussulmans. The fact is, that the Sheah are so powerful in Affghanistaun, that the Sunnee there would not dare to declare them infidels. The Wahabites in Arabia are considered both by Sheah and Sunnee as infidels.

I had after this a long conversation with a Mussulman about Christ. Thus the time is spent between gathering information and conversing chiefly about the one thing needful, i. e. Jesus Christ my Saviour.

OLD MAN.

*May 11.*—A Persian from Kasween, Khaleel by name, called on me; he was brought here by Ahmed Shah, after the death of Nadir Shah. He served under Nadir Shah, and went with that conqueror to Bagdad. Khaleel is 114 years of age; he was only ill once, and has retained his memory. He was here at the time the Armenians were brought here by Ahmed Shah, and he is surprised that all those people are now dead.

ROYAL PRINCE.

A fine looking young man, dressed in ragged clothes, entered

† אור (Or) Light, is the only Hebrew word I found in the Affghaun tongue. The construction of the Pushtoo Grammar entirely differs from that of the Hebrew.

my room; I asked who he was, he replied, "I am Jelaal Addeen, son of a King (Shahe Zadah), who is now at Loodianah with Shoojah Almulk. Doost Mohammed Khan gives me no bread to eat, I have not eaten any thing for these three days past; I am hungry, could you not give me a few rupees?" It was Prince Jelaal Addeen, son of King Sanjaar, of the royal branch Saddo Szeze, a successor of King Timur and Lady Mattoo, who governed Hindoostaun in former times. Prince Jelaal Addeen begs at the door of his father's slave for a piece of bread, and is refused! Every additional experience in life shews more and more plainly, that there is no real permanent happiness in this world; and that the Lord pulls down the high and lofty ones of the earth; and that he is the disposer of crowns, according to his good pleasure; and that there is only one crown, which fadeth not away. Happy the man, for whom such a crown is reserved; but it is only reserved for those, who have submitted to the sweet yoke, and light burden laid upon us by Jesus Christ our Lord. "*Tu fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te!*" Jelaal Addeen, Shahe Zadah, begs for a piece of bread in the streets of Cabool!

#### DEPARTURE FROM CABOOL.

*May 12.*—After having seen again Doost Mohammed Khan in the house of Nawaub Jabar Khan, I set off for Peshawr. The first night we stopt at But-Khak,\* nine miles from Cabool, belonging to Nawaub Jabar Khan. I was surprised there to learn, that the private property of the inhabitants had been forcibly taken from them by Nawaub Jabar Khan; and whenever I came afterwards, I found that they preferred the administration of Doost Mohammed Khan, to that of my mild host Nawaub Jabar Khan, with regard to mildness and justice. I am sorry to state this fact, but it is according to truth.

*May 13.*—We arrived at Tesseen, a large village, inhabited by Affghauns, 20 miles east from the former place. We passed seven mountains, called Gabra Jabar Kotel.†

*May 14.*—We stopped at Tesseen among Affghauns of the tribe of the Galitshei and Kakaree, mentioned in the chronicles of the Affghauns, which I have noticed in the preceding pages. They entered my room, and wanted to sleep in the same room with me; but the escort, sent with me by Nawaub Jabar Khan, ordered them to leave the room; without stirring, they said, "It shall be known." I remonstrated with them; they continually replied, "It shall be known." At last I wanted to leave the room, when they suddenly got up, and left me alone. They are considered as great robbers, but they were afraid of the men of Nawaub Jabar Khan.

*May 15.*—We passed over high mountains, and arrived at Gundamack, 30 English miles from Tesseen, inhabited by the Ga-

\* But-Khak means "Dust of Idols," from Sultan Hahmud, King of the Affghauns, having here broken in pieces the idols of the Hindoos.

† Kotel means Pass.

litshei and Kakaree tribe of the Affghauns. From this place, the road to Peshawr begins to be safe. What a wide distance had I now traversed from Malta to this place! And have I made all this journey entirely for my Master's glory? This is a question, which will be answered before some higher tribunal.

*May 16.*—I arrived at Tatang, 18 English miles from Gundamack. It is a beautiful place, covered with mulberry trees; it belonged to Nawaub Jabar Khan, but his brother Doost Mohammed Khan had begged it of him for himself.

#### CASHMEER.

Mullah Abd Alkader from Cashmeer, now residing at Tatang, called on me; as he was averse to a religious discussion, I asked him for some information. What he told me, I afterwards heard repeated, almost verbatim, by the Mussulmans at Cashmeer. He said, that the water of the flood remained upon the mountains of Cashmeer until Solomon was carried by the Genii to the spot, where Cashmeer stands; he ordered the Dew (Genius) *Kash* to draw away the water, and a certain *Meer*\* built a town there, which in the time of Jesus Christ was destroyed; and Parwarzeen, one of the Hindoo Kings of Cashmeer, built the present Cashmeer. In the time of Rehtang Shah, a Fakeer, Pulpul Shah by name,† appeared, and converted Rehtang Shah, King of Cashmeer, to the Mohammedan religion.

In the year of the Hegira 760 (A. D. 1346), during the reign of Allae Deen, Emeer Sayd Ali, Hamadane, a holy Dervish, appeared at Cashmeer. A Hindoo, Parme Hamoz by name, was living at that time at Cashmeer; he was such a holy man that he could fly towards heaven, and predict whether a woman would have a son or a daughter. The Hindoos said to Sayd Ali Hamadane, if he should convert Parme Hamoz, they all should follow his example. Sayd Ali Hamadane succeeded in converting him, and the rest turned Mohammedans.

#### PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

The same Mullah informed me, that a Persian manuscript, called "*Rawsat Alahbab*," contains the history of Mohammed and the two journies he made; the one with his uncle Aboo Taleb, and the other as a merchant, employed by his wife Hadijah, the daughter of Khuwailad. A book, entitled "*Juwaher Attafseer*," is a com-

\* Mr. Treveleyan, a Sanscrit scholar, assures me, that *Meer* in Sanscrit means Hill, so that it means the Hill of Cash. Alexander's historians speak of the Caashe, as inhabiting these hills, and the name Kashgar, is called after them. It appears to me, that קוש (Kush) in Gen. ii. which is translated Ethiopia, may be the Caashe. It was an idea of Herder, that the Garden of Eden may have been in the valley of Cashmeer; for the Gihon (Oxus) has its origin at Cashmeer.

† The distinguished Fakeers, or Dervishes, have in Persia, Affghanistaun and Cashmeer the title of Shah, King.

mentary of the Koran, highly esteemed by the Mullahs of Cashmeer.

#### KHAIBAREE.

Around Tatang, the Khaibaree are residing; an independent and warlike tribe, inhabiting a mountainous region, between Cabool and Peshawr. They divide themselves into the following tribes: Moomand Kohe, Shinwaree, Afreedee, Orok Szeeye. They are perhaps the descendants of the Jews of Khaibar, who fought against Mohammed?

#### EMIGRANTS FROM CASHMEER.

From the time that Runjeet Singh took possession of Cashmeer, many Mussulmans preferred living as exiles under a Mohammedan Government, to being the subjects of a Prince whom they consider as a Kafer; and beside this, the estates of the principal Mussulmans at Cashmeer have been confiscated by the great Mahara-jah of the Seiks. Khoja Mohammed Sadek, and his brother Khoja Mohammed Aseem, both amiable and respectable gentlemen, who were friends of Mr. Morecroft, when at Cashmeer, live now at Tatang, supported by the bounty of the Chief of Cabool. These two Cashmerians told me the names of the numbers, and of the days of the week, in the language of Cashmeer.

#### *Numbers.*

Ak	One.	Troa	Thirteen.
Szo	Two.	Zota	Fourteen.
'Tree	Three.	Panda	Fifteen.
Zoor	Four.	Sharaa	Sixteen.
Paz	Five.	Sataa	Seventeen.
She	Six.	Arda	Eighteen.
Sat	Seven.	Konoo	Nineteen.
Aat	Eight.	Woo	Twenty.
Naw	Nine.	Akoo	Twenty-one.
Daa	Ten.	Sotaw	Twenty-two.
Gaa	Eleven.	Treoo	Twenty-three.
Baa	Twelve.	Zo-oo	Twenty-four.

#### *Days of the week.*

Atwar	Sunday.	Preswaar	Thursday.
Sundurwar	Monday.	Shurkurwar	Friday.
Bonwar	Tuesday.	Batowar	Saturday.
Bodwar	Wednesday.		

*May 20.*—We left Tatang, and arrived at Jelaalabad, nine English miles distant, where we slept in the house of the Mufti.

*May 21.*—We entered a boat, composed of skins stretched upon a frame of wood, and went down the river called Jala. We arrived in the evening at Lalpore, where Saadat Khan, an Affghaun Chief of the tribe of Momand resides. The mountainous situation of his territory makes him independent, as well of the Khan of



Peshawr, as of the Khan of Cabool. The next morning he came out to me, and said, I should tell the Governor General of India, that he suffered both Mr. Burnes and myself to pass undisturbed, and that he knew the object of our visiting the country, that it was merely with a view to take Cabool, and the rest of the country of the Affghauns, and that he should always be glad to assist us; but upon condition of receiving either a present or a pension from the *Laard Saheb* (Governor General of India); and he wanted me to give him a paper, promising to procure him such a pension. I replied that it was not at all the intention of the English to take Affghanistaun; “but I shall mention your request,” I continued, “to the Laard Saheb; and with regard to my giving you the paper you required, it would not be of the least use to you; for I am a Mullah, and the Laard Saheb would only laugh at it; and if you force me to give it, you would have the less chance of getting the smallest present from the English.” This place is 45 miles from Jelaalabad.

*May 22.*—We arrived at Mette, 30 English miles from Lalpore; it is under the jurisdiction of Serdar Sultan Mohammed Khan of Peshawr.

#### ARRIVAL AT PESHAWR.

*May 23.*—We arrived at Peshawr. Serdar Sultan Mohammed Khan\* received me in the kindest manner, gave me a room in his house, and ordered a taylor to make me an European dress at his own expense. In the evening, he introduced me to a great many Mullahs of Peshawr; for this place is considered to be the most learned city after Bokhara. One of the Mullahs observed, as Christ had said, that he came not to abolish the Law, why then have the Christians changed the Sabbath day? I replied, that it was only commanded in the Bible to labour six days, and to rest on a seventh day; that it was no where said in the Scripture, that the seventh day of the Jews was the seventh day of creation. (See Exodus xx. 8—12.) I must confess, that I never expected such a question from a Mussulman. Mullah Emeer called on me, and read with me the Pushtoo book of Khan Jehaun Loote, containing a history of the origin of the Affghauns.

#### HISTORY OF THE AFFGHAUNS, ACCORDING TO KHAN JEHAUN.

Nebuchadnezar took the Children of Israel captive to Babylon; some went to Arabia, for they said, “We are now distant from the place of Solomon, therefore we must now perform our pilgrimage to the borders of Mecca.” In the time of Mohammed, the Arabs quarrelled with them. Waleed, a Jew by the father’s line, and a Koreish by the mother’s side,† united with Aboo Soofean, and

\* *Serdar* is the title of a Governor General, and Khan is the rank.

† This accords with the tradition of the Jews of Yemen, whose ancestors never returned to Palestine, and refused the invitation of Ezra. See Vol. II. of my journals through Palestine and Persia.

collecting an army of Koreish, commanded by Khaleed, the son of Waleed, defeated Mohammed Ameer Hamza, the uncle of Mohammed, who became a martyr on that occasion, in the year 18 of Hegira. Khaleed went to Medinah, embraced the religion of Islam, and distinguished himself in battle. He made war with Ormuz. In the time of Abou-Bekr, he went to Damascus, and built a city called Khaleed. He besieged Damascus. Heraclias sent an army of 300,000 men; Khaleed had only 40,000 men. He desired those of his army, who had seen the Prophet, to stand separate from the rest. Thus one thousand men of his army stood aloof from the rest. Of these, he chose 100 poor men to pray to God. At that time the news of the death of Abou-Bekr arrived. The battle commenced; the first day the victory was doubtful; but on the second, Heraclias was beaten. At that time, Omar became Khaleefa, and he went to Khaleed, and recalled him to Medinah. Khaleed obeyed the order of Omar. Omar received him kindly, and gave him 1000 Deenar. Abou Beda took the command of Khaleed's troops, and sent Abou Soofean, of the Children of Yazeed, to Damascus. Abou Beda himself went to Makhs. Khaleed was sent back with a reinforcement of 40,000 men; Heraclias sent his General Nodar with 120,000 men against Abou Beda. Khaleed and Abou Beda united their troops together, and sent messengers to Omar, who sent 12,000 men to their assistance. The battle lasted 24 days, after which Heraclias' army was beaten. Nodar was killed by Jinjah Khafare, and Zanash escaped. Khaleed sent the trophies of his victory upon seventy camels to Omar. Khaleed and Abou Beda went to Mar Horroom, which after seven days they took by assault. Abou Beda remained at Mar Horroom, and Khaleed one year at Aksan. That same Khaleed, so mighty in battle, wrote, when turned to Islam, a letter to the Children of Israel at Ghor, announcing to them his conversion, and exhorting them to turn to Islam. Keis, and some other chiefs of the Affghauns went to Medinah. Keis was a descendant of Saul of the 27th generation, and of the 45th generation of Abraham, and 63d generation of Adam. (Then the author gives the very same genealogy as I have already given, and confesses, that he has taken it from the book called "Majmooa Alansab," and then continues): Keis turned Mohammedan, and Mohammed gave him the surname of Abd-Alrasheed. Keis killed 70 Koreish; and Mohammed prophesied, that from the descendants of Keis many faithful Mussulmans should appear, and said, "This is a Mast, i. e. Pathan," hence the Affghauns have the name of Pathan throughout Hindoostaun. The Affghaun historian maintains, that Mohammed spoke that time in the Affghaun language, i. e. the Pushtoo.

"Warkra Aweiza Karna

Da

Ygomuz baboo Rasada."

*Translation.*

"My shirt give to Aweiza Karna,  
And my comb to Abou Rasa."

Keis Abd Alrasheed's family increased, and the Affghauns became mighty in battle. Ray Beshlem, a valiant Rajah of Hindoostaun, was slain in battle with the Affghauns; the idols of Hindoostaun were broken into pieces by the descendants of Keis Abd Alrasheed; they fought mightily under Sultan Mohammed Ghazir; and Shahbooden from the mountain of Ghore, was crowned King of Hindoostaun. On his arrival at Ghuzne he ordered the Affghauns to be removed from Ghor, and thus they came to Candahar, Peshawr, Ghuzne, Khaibar, Teera, Ashnakhar, Soad, Aboo Neir, Multan, Hassan, Avdal, between Attock and Rewil Pindee, Panj, Khoora and Mount Ashnakhar, their present seats, besides Cabool and Heraut. Peshawr was the first city inhabited by the Affghauns; it was formerly called Bagram.

This account was extracted by me from the above-mentioned manuscript in the Pushtoo tongue, which I presented to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It agrees with the account of the Affghauns, given in the manuscripts called "Teemur Nameh," and "Ketaub Ansabee Muhakkek Toose." I am indebted for those manuscripts to Mullah Mohammed Hassan, the brother of Mullah Najeeb, for whom a pension was procured by Mr. Elphinstone, on account of his having made the journey to the Kaffre Seeah Poosh.

*May 24.*—About ten days journey from Peshawr is Little Kashgar. Sekardor, the King of that country, pretends to be one of the descendants of Alexander the Great.

I give here some names of learned Mullahs at Peshawr; they are,

Mullah Ahsan, with the surname of Hafiz Deraaz. Gholam Habeeb. Hafiz Aseem. Mullah Mohammed Hassan. Mullah Ali Ahmed. Mullah Bahruman, a friend of Mr. Elphinstone, who is gone to China. I am now going to speak about two interesting people:

#### THE YOUSSEF SZEYE, AND THE KAFFRE SEEAH POOSH.

The Youssuf Szeze cannot but be looked upon with astonishment; they and the Khaibaree are the only tribe of the Affghauns who have a Jewish countenance, and frequently I saw them, on my way from Cabool to Peshawr, sitting together and lamenting over the fall of the rest of their brethren under tyrants, and the subjugation by an infidel like Runjud Singh. Their customs are quite patriarchal, and they are, as I am told, the most hospitable of the Affghauns.

At the north of Peshawr is Bajawr, belonging to an independent tribe of Affghauns, called Youssuf Szeze, whose name has appeared in the genealogy I have given of the Affghauns. Kasem Khan is the name of their mighty Chief. They frequently attack with advantage the troops and territory of Runjud Singh. They also make slaves of the Kaffre Seeah Poosh.

About the Kaffre Seeah Poosh nothing can be ascertained with certainty; for woe to the Mussulmans who fall into their hands! They are believed to be (by Morecroft and other European

travellers,) the descendants of the army of Alexander the Great. This supposition, however, seems to have been adopted merely by Europeans; they themselves, as far as I could learn, know nothing about Alexander the Great. Travellers have often the vanity to write long dissertations about the origin of a nation, without having the least solid foundation for it. It is the traveller's business to gather sayings and traditions prevalent among the people he is visiting, and I confess, that I place the greatest confidence in the traditions of the barbarians: they not only transmit the names of their tribes from father to son, but even the names of their horses. A fine horse, belonging to an ancestor, is remembered in the deserts by both the Arabs and the Turkomauns, with tears of affection, and its death is often lamented in poetic strains. Of what weight then are the doubts of a Gibbon, or a Hume? The Rechabite on horseback, or a Kaffre Seeah Poosh, refutes them with a tale of ancient times.

May 25.—I called on Mullah Najeeb who undertook, at the desire of Mr. Elphinstone, the journey to the Kaffre Seeah Poosh. He went in the year of the Hegira 1224, A. D. 1809, to Prang or Ashnaghar, thence to Tanghe, Akhsacoat, Badkhela, Kojela, passed the great mountain Sahar; from thence he went to Banda, Kodigra, Barabad, and Deer, and passing the mountain of Sakhane, he went to Harnoe, and from thence through the desert to the Kaffre Seeah Poosh. One of the tribe of Kamooje of the Seeah Poosh was with him. His name was Dimkhan. He arrived at Kamdesh, where he stopt ten days. The Affghauns call the Kaffre Seeah Poosh in the Pushtoo language Spen Kaffre.\*

#### TRADITION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE KAFFRE SEEAH POOSH.

Kamaj, Kamos, Salaal, and Halal were four brothers who lived at Candahar, from whence they were expelled by the Mussulmans. Kamos, Salaal and Halal became Mussulmans, and the Kamaj remained Kaffres. They have no exact accounts of their origin; some say that they were Affghauns, others, that they were Arabs, and some of them say that they came from another country.† They know their genealogy. A bloody war among themselves drove many of them out from Candahar to Kamkood, thence to Kambasala, thence to Kalamreed, Kamdad, and then to Kamroj, where at this time 4500 Kaffres are residing.

They have a great place of pilgrimage in the village Kishtoke, two days from Kamdesh; there they have a large house, called Imr Ama, in which they offer a cow and a sheep as a sacrifice; they sprinkle the blood upon an idol, which is sitting upon a

\* Seeah Poosh means *Black Clothing*, from the colour of their dress.

† Many of the Mussulmans assert that they are of European origin, and their white complexion makes it very probable; if so, they may be the descendants of Alexander the Great's army, as some of the Europeans have tried to make out.



horse, and the meat they give to men. They have a throne of stone, upon which some words are written, which they say are taken from the Tawrat (the Pentateuch of Moses). They have in every village a place of worship, and have clean and unclean animals; mice, dogs, and all kind of fish are considered by them to be unclean. As soon as a child is born, they turn the mother out of the village in order that it may not be made unclean. The mother and the child remain three days in the fields.\*

They worship a God, whom they call Imra,† as also pictures of their dead; and to both they offer sacrifices. They put fire in the Imr Tan, i. e. the place where God is worshipped, and another fire before the idol, and this ceremony they call Sooj, i. e. clean; then they pour butter and flour upon the idol, and exclaim three times, Hehamaj Ota! i. e. "Accept it!" and before the place of God (Imrtan) they say: "Hehomaj Imra!" God accept it! And the whole congregation exclaims, "Hehomaj!" After this the Ota, i. e. Priest, reads prayers. One of their prayers is as follows, "Increase our property, and make us not sick, and kill the Mussulmans." After every prayer they exclaim, "Hehomaj!" and then kiss their fingers. Their idols are made of wood and stone, gigantic figures of men. They say that Imra keeps them, and increaseth and diminisheth their property as he pleaseth. They worship Imra through the image.

Their prophets are, Begesht (prophets Enoch or Idris). Mani,‡ Marar, Aram, Parsoo, Geesh, Parade, (who had 7 brothers created out of a tree of gold.) Paroon, (who had also 7 brothers.) Dooshe, Zaretoo, Nashte, (of the preceding eleven prophets, they have idols of wood.) Deselren, a woman; Ghoomer, the wife of Adam; her picture is of stone upon a mountain.

They know but little of a future state: they say, those who are good go to Pareleboola (Paradise), the bad go to Paredagarbola (Hell). They dress their dead in festival clothing like a warrior, throw them upon a chair, and dance around them. If the dead person was poor, they dance three days, for a rich one, seven days; and then they cast him before the idol, without burying him.

A youth, after he has come to mature age, and given bread, is dressed in linen. They name a child in the following manner: they put the breast of the mother upon the teeth of the child, and whatever name the mother mentions, whilst the child suckles, is given to the child.

The marriages of the Kaffre Seeah Poosh are performed in the following manner. The bridegroom brings a cow to the father of the bride, and six rupees. The father of the bride fixes a chain of silver upon her ears, clothes her with a dress, and sends her away

\* This is a very striking coincidence with the law of Moses, as expressed in Leviticus xii. 2, 4, 5, 6.

† Imra is evidently the Arabic word Amar, to command, so that Imra means the Commander.

‡ Mani is likewise claimed by the people of Tibet.

with the bridegroom. A few days after the wedding, the father brings twenty cows to the happy pair.

If any one of the Kaffre Seeah Poosh wishes to consult the oracles, or Genii, he goes to the Ota (Priest), places his head among the smoke, and asks the Genius.\*

Their chiefs at Kamoj are, Demo, Hazar, Jandloo, Meerak, and Batte.

On meeting, they salute each other, by saying, "Too Teascha?" Are you come? "Awet Yasana," You are come. They have 14 feast days.

#### NAMES OF THEIR TRIBES AND VILLAGES.

<i>Tribes.</i>	<i>Their village.</i>
Kamoje. . . . .	Kamdesh.
Kishtoje. . . . .	Kishtow.
Mangale. . . . .	Mangal.
Kandaye. . . . .	Kandos.
Porone. . . . .	Poron.
Gheteone.	
Parenos.	
Ashgun.	
Amshee. . . . .	Amesh.
Seroon.	
Golome.	
Kholem.	
Romse. . . . .	Roms.
Darkema. . . . .	Katar and Gamber.
Nishi.	
Uay. . . . .	Taygal, Lo.
Temesh.	
Sawnkoon. . . . .	Sawnkoon Dara.
Eyred.	
Poral.	
Sangarag.	
Tshatarala.	
Ganag.	
Podad.	
Awekea.	
Pasoykan.	
Galin Kolon.	
Tateen. . . . .	Tateen Taraa.
Oole. . . . .	Ooletara.
Pashe.	

#### VOCABULARY OF THE KAFFRE SEEAH POOSH.

<i>Seeah Poosh.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Imra	God.
Parelebola	Paradise.

\* Is this not like the oracle of Delphi?

<i>Seeah Poosh.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Paredagarbola	Hell.
Dad	Father.
Noo	Mother.
Jook	Daughter.
Bara	Brother.
Los	Neighbour.
Maja	Husband.
Ishtere	Wife.
Lood	Boy.
Piss	Child.
Manja	Man.
Oobja	Creature.
Shey	Head.
Naskar	Sight.
Nasoo	Nose.
Ooje	Eye.
Ooje Seyar	Eyebrows.
Kar	Ear.
Moon	Forehead.
Shoo	Hair.
Ashe	Mouth.
Kam	Throat.
Totsa	Teeth.
Deesa	Tongue.
Dere	Blood.
Margam	Neck.
Dasht	Hand.
Angor	Finger.
Loy	Blood.
Lare	Heart.
Szo*	Milk.

NUMBERS.

Ekk	One.
Doo	Two.
Tre	Three.
Jeta	Four.
Paja	Five.
Sho	Six.
Sota	Seven.
Oshta	Eight.
Noo	Nine.
Deesa	Ten.
Yene-Yasa	Eleven.
Visee	Twenty.
Uasea	Thirty.
Pojawase	One hundred.

\* *Szoo*, Milk, is a Turkish word.

*May 25.*—Deweeda, an Hindoo, who is Agent of Runjeet Singh, the Maharajah (Great King) of the Seiks, called on me and told me, that the Governor General of India had recommended me to the Maharajah of the Seiks, who, in consequence of the recommendation of Lord William Bentinck, had sent on a man of distinction to Attock with orders that fifty horsemen should be ready for my escort, and that Hurree Singh, the Serdar (Governor) of Jehaungeer had orders to give me every day 15 rupees worth of sweetmeats, and 200 rupees (£20 sterling) in money, and that an elephant should be ready for my conveyance.

Deweeda tells me, that the stone which is worshipped by them, is called Salkeram, and on the spot, where it is found, it utters a voice; it is to be found in the river called Nemorta. He informs me also, that they have another idol, called Ramtshan, which has the form of a man; and that Adam and Eve are called by them, Madoo and Barbade.

SERDAR SULTAN MOHAMMED KHAN, GOVERNOR OF PESHAWR.

*May 26.*—Serdar Sultan Mohammed sent for me. He requested me in the first instance to permit him to send a gentleman of respectability with me to Lord William Bentinck, about some political affairs. I told him, that I must decline this for the simple reason, that I did not think it honourable to go as a guest through the dominions of Runjeet Singh, with the political Ambassador of a Prince, who is at variance with the Chief whose guest I am; and that it might displease the Governor General, that I, a preacher of the Gospel, should allow myself to be accompanied by a political agent. He told me of the kindness he had shown to Mr. Morecroft, and gave me a letter to Lord William Bentinck. He was in possession of the following testimonials of Mr. Morecroft.

“This certifies, that Serdar Sultan Mohammed Khan, one of the principal Buruch Zeye nobles, has conducted himself towards my party, from the time they entered Peshawr, to the period at which they quitted the city of Cabool, with a uniformly steady friendship and civility. At the request of the Khan himself, I furnish this testimonial with the expression of his wish, that friendship should always remain betwixt him and me, a condition to which, as a private individual, I most cordially subscribe; and on my part I feel pleasure in testifying my belief, that Serdar Sultan Mohammed Khan possesses more sincerity, liberality of sentiments, natural sagacity and ability, than any other Doorane, or Affghaun nobleman, of whom I have had a fitting opportunity of forming an opinion. This character, drawn from observation made during a period of eight months, in conjunction with my acknowledgments of a series of friendly actions, and a disposition favourable to Europeans, as manifested on several occasions, will sufficiently recommend Sultan Mohammed Khan to the respect, and if need be, to the good offices of those Englishmen with whom accident may bring him in contact. (Signed)

*Cabool, August 17, 1828.*

WILLIAM MORECROFT.”



## INHABITANTS OF PESHAWR.

The principal inhabitants of Peshawr are Affghauns of the Momand tribe, and others. They are naturally in fear of Runjeet Singh; but they have on several occasions opposed a powerful resistance to that Chief. There are beside them, Hindoos, Seiks, and Persians.

*May 26.*—Mullah Uzeir of Cabool, who lately came from Mecca, was introduced to me by my host Serdar Sultan Mohammed. He was certainly not practised in argument; for, in order to prove to me that Jews and Christians had corrupted the Law, he recited to me portions of the Koran.

## DEPARTURE FROM PESHAWR.

*May 27.*—I left Peshawr, and the hospitable dwelling of Serdar Sultan Mohammed, accompanied by his chief man and three soldiers of Runjeet Singh, and arrived at Daghe Banda, nine English miles from Peshawr. This place is inhabited by the Momand tribe. I spoke here with the people about the Lord Jesus Christ, his death, ascension, and his future coming in the clouds of heaven. They listened with the greatest attention. Towards evening we rode six miles further, and arrived at Peer-Bay. An old Sayd, highly respected by the Ruler of Peshawr, shewed me great attention.

## PUNJAUB.

*May 29.*—I set off for Acora, near Nowshara. Fifty horsemen, sent by Hurry Singh, the Governor of Jehaangeer, came to meet me. Jodoram, one of the Seik officers, desired me to mount an elephant, which stood ready for me. According to the custom of the country, he gave me two rupees, which I took and gave to the elephant driver. A letter of Hurry Singh, one of Runjut Singh's chief Generals, was presented to me, with an assurance of his assistance by order of Runjut Singh the King of the Seiks.

We alighted at Acora, in a mosque. There is no fear of being put to death by the bigotry of the Mussulmans; for Runjut Singh has pretty well proved to them, that the edge of the sword is not always an evidence of the truth of religion. The Mussulmans, as we shall see hereafter, had been defeated by Runjut Singh in several battles; and those Mussulmans who are now his subjects, are held in the most abject condition. The name of Runjut Singh is a terror from Lahore to the city of Bokhara, the Strength of Islamism.

After having travelled for several months among wild Turko-mauns, and having been delivered from slavery, and escaped death at Dooab, and passed through the wild mountains of Khaibaree, it is an agreeable surprise, to be surrounded by kind people, dressed in white garments, their hands folded, and waiting for an order. Oh, how agreeably the believer will be surprised, when, after having faithfully fought on earth the good fight of faith, and under many trials and afflictions finished the work which He has given

us to do, his soul departs from this body upon the pinions of death, and goes to that land, where a crown of glory which fadeth not away, is prepared for him, and where the family of heaven, clothed in whiter garments than those of Seiks, meet him; and where he hears the voice, not of an heathen King, but of the King of Kings, exclaiming: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

In the afternoon we continued our journey towards Jehaangeer, six English miles from Acora. Here the soldiers of Hurry Singh presented arms, and a Colonel, sent by Hurry Singh, came to welcome me in his name. Upon this spot many battles were fought between the army of Runjut Singh and the Affghauns. Polar Singh, one of the Akalee, (of which people I shall speak hereafter,) a mighty warrior of the Seiks, died here a martyr, as the Seiks express themselves, fighting against the Mussulmans.

We arrived at Jehaangeer. Serdar Hurry Singh, in a tent, sitting upon a chair, surrounded by about 80 Officers, and Nobles, and soldiers, rose and put his hands in mine, and welcomed me in the name of the Maharajah. He told me, that he was a friend of Lord and Lady William Bentinck. He asked me whether I knew them; I answered in the affirmative. A beautiful red coloured tent was prepared for me, and 250 rupees, and about 10 jars of sweat-meats were delivered to me. An orderly was placed near my tent, and another soldier as a guard. Mool Singh, the Moonshee, i. e. Secretary to the Serdar, was sent to me with ink and paper, desiring me to tell him my wants, which he wrote down, and immediately sent the paper to Hurry Singh. As I was in want of linen, the finest linen was immediately brought.

Moonshee Mool Singh, an excellent young man, who understands Sanscrit, and is very well informed in his religion, and to whom I translated the sermon on the mount, gave me the following information about the

#### RELIGION OF THE SEIKS.

The religion of the Seiks was established about 150 years ago, by Baba Nanak and Gooroo Govend Singh.\* The Seiks call God *Akal Puruk*. *Akal* means in Sanscrit immortal, and *Puruk* a year; the Being who has neither beginning nor end, and by whom every thing was created. They have a book, called "Grunt Saheb," written by Gooroo Arjan, and Baba Nanak. The latter believed and taught the unity of God, and abolished idols among his people. His followers were called Seik, which means disciple. Their spiritual guides were called Gooroo (priest). They have ten famous Gooroo: Nanak, the author of the sect. Angad, Ameer-Daas, Ram-Daas, Arjand, Hargobind, Hara, Harkresht, Dekht Behadur, Govende Sing, who inspired the Seiks with a military spirit.

\* *Sing* is a title, which the military of the Seiks bear, and means *Lion*.

The Seiks call the first man *Brahma*, and his wife *Shakad*. *Swarg* is the name for their paradise. Nark for their hell. Those, who have done good works, remain in Swarg, until they have reaped the fruits of their doings, and then return to the world; those, who have done bad, remain in Nark, until they have received full punishment.

Their places of pilgrimage are, in the Punjaub, Amritsir, Tareen-Taren, Dookh Naware, Derahe Baba Nanak, Galendwal.

Near the Sutlutj: Nundpoor Mukhowal, Chamkone, Futtehghur, near Serhend; Mookhetsir, Dandemak Saheb, Delhi, Patna in Bebar, Abehela Negher, near Nandair in the Decan.

#### AKALEE.

In the land of Runjut Singh are a kind of military Fakeers, highly respected and revered by the nation, and even deemed sacred; they are called Akalee, Immortal. This sect was originally founded by Gooroo Govend Singh, the tenth Gooroo of the Seiks. The Seiks were formerly a spiritual people, and did not aspire to temporal power. They were however in the habit of disturbing the peace of the country, and resisting the authority of the Mohammedan Government, owing to the religious animosity which naturally existed between them. This led to the persecution of the sect, and in the time of Arung Zeb, Emperor of Delhi, the Mohammedans succeeded in seizing the Gooroo Degh Behador, the ninth Priest of the Seiks, who was put to death at Delhi. Gooroo Govend Singh, on his accession to the Primacy, invoked the vengeance of God for this insult, and determined to prosecute a war against the Moghul. After various successes he was defeated, and obliged to abandon his country. He honoured those of his followers, who remained firm to him in his contest with the Moghuls, by the nomination of *Akalee*, or the *Immortal*; and from that time they became a mendicant race. The Seik became independent during the reign of Furookh Seen, the Emperor of Delhi. The Akalee increased in number, and they were noted for their predatory and fanatic habits and impertinence. Seventy years ago the Seiks established their authority in the Punjaub. The Akalees wear a distinctive dress of dark blue, and a high cap, in which they generally wear iron rings, resembling a quoit, which the Seiks formerly used as an emblem of war.

The Seiks have written in their book, that rays like the sun went out of the hands of Jesus Christ. I read to three Hindoos the Gospel of Christ.

May 30.—I called again on Hurry Singh. His Monshee, who speaks Persian, was my interpreter.

#### RELIGIOUS CONVERSATION WITH HURRY SINGH.

*Hurry Singh.* Do you wish to see the fortresses of this place?

*Myself.* I never look at fortresses, my occupation is to speak with people about God.

*H. S.* What is necessary to do, in order to arrive at a more thorough knowledge of God?

*I.* Jesus Christ said, "Will your heavenly father not give the holy spirit to those who ask him?" Pray to God, and He will give you the light of truth.

*H. S.* Which is the best of all religions you have known?

*I.* The religion of Jesus Christ.

*Monshee.* Recite to Hurry Singh the sermon of Jesus, I will translate it. (I did so; a general delight was expressed in every countenance.)

*H. S.* If any one purposes to leave this world, and to devote himself to God, what must he do with his wife and children? It is very hard to be obliged to leave them.

*I.* If you seek God with all your heart and soul, He will manage affairs in such a manner, that you shall live the more happy with wife and child.

Hurry Singh is a devout man, he makes every day a present of a cow to a Brahmin, and is just in his dealings.

#### HINDOO NOTION OF GOD.

Lena Singh and a Pundit,\* Sawaram, called on me, and they made the following observation. "Ram Perwerdegar (God), is like the wide Ocean, of whom many drops are formed, and many rivers, but they do not exhaust the Ocean; many grains of sand and shells are cast by the Ocean on the dry land, and do not exhaust the Ocean: thus Wishnoo, whom you call Jesus, is a drop of that wide Ocean God, of which drop many other drops were formed, but do not exhaust the Ocean God, and God is not in want of any of them. From the beginning a religion was established for every nation, suitable to their several climates; and every one, who is faithful to that religion in which he was born, shall come nearer to Perwerdegar, and shall have his reward in Swarg." I asked, 'Why do you worship the cow? the cow is not God, nor that wide Ocean of which you are speaking.'†

The Monshee of Hurry Singh, who was present, replied, "If you do not wish to make the Hindoos deadly enemies, do not ask about the cow." I broke off the conversation.

#### ARE THE HINDOOS IDOLATORS?

A Dafteree (book-keeper) of Hurry Singh, not a Seik, but a Hindoo, told me that the Hindoo acknowledge only one God, and the idols are only representations of the invincible Godhead. They call their book Bhughwud Geet (Divine song, in Sanscrit).

Infidels among European Christians, who are ready to defend any religion save their own, exculpate the Hindoos from the crime of idolatry, in order to make the veracity of excellent Missionaries suspected. Those infidels, hypocrites as they are, whilst they

\* *Pundit* is a Hindoo title of a learned man.

† Those Philosophers of Europe, who believe that power of Philosophy is able to bring men to the saving knowledge of Christ, ought to travel among the Philosophers of Hindoostan and Persia, they will easily be undeceived.



speak with horror about the Inquisition of Spain (which language of horror they adopt for no other purpose than to bring into discredit the religion of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, God blessed for ever), speak with enthusiasm about the Hindoo and Seik custom of burning their wives, and of the horrors of Juggur-Nath! Whilst I believe, that many a Hindoo, and many a Mussulman, and many a Zealander will be met with among the number of the happy in heaven; (for I believe many of these are so guided, by the spirit, as to arrive at the knowledge of the truth in a way unknown even to themselves;) I firmly believe, that such wicked infidels will be cast into utter darkness; for they had an opportunity of knowing better. What is Idolatry? It is the worship of an invisible Being through a visible likeness, by which the original is forgotten: now this is the manner of worship among the Hindoos, who therefore are idolaters. It is however clear to me, that idolatry originated from a false philosophical system, as that of Spinoza the Jew, upon the system of Pantheism.

*June 1.*—I arrived at Attock, the Taxila of Alexander, where I was most kindly received by His Royal Highness Khurruck Singh, who also gave me 250 rupees, and sweetmeats. Khurruck Singh is the favourite son of Runjeet Singh; for Runjeet Singh was very fortunate during the time his mother was pregnant with him, and on the day of his birth. Attock is six English miles from Jehaan-geer. I left it that same day, and arrived at Hydaroo, ten miles from Attock, where I lodged with a Brahmin.

*June 2.*—We arrived at Hassan Avdal, the last place of Affghanistaun. Here I saw the first Seik temple. Pundits of the Seik were sitting in it, and reading Grunt Saheb, the book composed by Baba Nanak their founder. Hassan Avdal is 15 English miles from Hydaroo.

*June 4.*—Arrived at Rawil Pindee, 15 English miles from Hassan Avdal. Here I received again, by order of the Maharajah, sweetmeats and 100 rupees.

*June 5.*—We arrived at Bande, 18 English miles distant from Rawil Pindee.

*June 6.*—We arrived in the forenoon at Pishentowr, 17 English miles; in the afternoon at Damack, six English miles.

*June 7.*—We arrived at Rawtas, 18 English miles from Damack.

#### MUSSULMANS AMONG THE SEIKS.

The Mussulmans under the government of Runjeet Singh, in a country formerly belonging to the descendants of Tamerlan, stand in the same relation to the Seiks, as the Christians do in the Ottoman Empire to the Mussulmans; except that Runjeet Singh is more tolerant than the Turks and Persians. The Mussulmans in the Punjaub are not allowed to eat cow's flesh.

*June 8.*—We arrived at Jelom, 15 Eng. miles from Rawtas. Here the river Jelom flows. We felt to-day a strong earthquake.

*June 9.*—We arrived in the village Saray Kare, 21 Eng. miles from Jelom, inhabited by Brahmins and Mussulmans. Wherever

a traveller comes, they prepare near a house a kind of sofa, which they call Tshoke.

*June 10.*—I arrived at Goozerat, where I was most kindly received by a very interesting man, the Governor of the place and province, whose name is Josiah Harlan, an independent citizen of the United States of North America: his life and career is so interesting, that I cannot omit inserting an epitome of it here.

#### DOCTOR JOSIAH HARLAN

Was born of a respectable Quaker family in Philadelphia, in the year 1799. His brother, Richard Harlan, is a physician, and writer on medical subjects in America.

Josiah Harlan, when 15 years of age, amused himself with reading medical books, and the history of Plutarch, as also the inspired Prophets; in which study I found him wonderfully well versed. When he was 21 years of age, his father sent him as a supercargo to Canton, in China. He returned thence in 13 months to Philadelphia, where he fell in love with a young lady, who promised to marry him. He sailed again to Calcutta; but hearing that his betrothed lady had married somebody else, he determined never again to return to America. He went to China in a commercial capacity, and returned a third time to Calcutta. He presented himself for examination at the Medical Board, and was appointed surgeon at the Calcutta general hospital, from whence he was transferred to the Artillery of Dum-Dum, and proceeded with that detachment to Rangoon.

Having visited the Burmese Empire as far as Prome, he returned to Calcutta, and from thence travelled up to Simlah to Lord Amherst, from whom he demanded and obtained permission to resign. Next he went to Khorassaun, as Agent to the ex-King Shah Shoojah Ool-Moolk, who honoured him with the title of Azeez ood-dowla behadoor, (the friend of the King.) He went to Bohawul Pore, accompanied by 100 attendants, and travelled on across the Indus, up to Peshawr, where he intended to take possession of the fortress of Tack; but he failed, and went disguised as a Dervish to Cabool, from whence he finally returned to the Punjaub. He was accompanied for some time by a Mr. Mason, who afterwards travelled about in Persia, as an American. Dr. Harlan is now Governor of Goozerat. He speaks and writes the Persian with very great fluency; he is clever and enterprising. Dr. Harlan is a high Tory in principles, and honours kingly dignity; though on the other hand, he speaks with enthusiasm of Washington, Adams and Jefferson, who wrote the declaration of independence, &c. He informs me, that the restoration of Shoojah-ool-Moolk would be of the greatest advantage to the British Government; however, being no politician, I was not able to understand well the reasons he assigned.

*June 11.*—I preached in the house of Dr. Harlan to some Armenians and Mussulmans, in the Persian tongue.

*June 13.*—I left Goozerat, and went towards Vizirabad. On

the road I met with Hindoos, walking barefoot, and saying their prayers; they were coming from their pilgrimage to the river Gunga, near the city of Kaashe (Benares), and from the city of Allahabad. I arrived at the hospitable dwelling of Signor Avitabile, Governor General of Vizir Abad, in the service of Runjeet Singh. This ingenuous man has made this the finest town in the Punjaub, and added to it a new town with a gate, to which he has given the name of "Ram Katera," the quarter of God. He has established gallows, which he calls the ornament of civilization; for he has the power of life and death; but he is devoted to his Royal Master, and to the welfare of the country: the people of his province love him as a father. He remits every year to Runjeet Singh 1,200,000 rupees, which amount to £120,000 sterling, and this is the only province in which no complaints are heard. He has made Vizirabad the asylum of the oppressed Cashmeerians, and his name is far known. He is cheerful like an Italian; but when he is occupied in business, he is as serious as an Englishman. After having stopt with the kind Italian till the 17th June, he provided me with all necessaries for the road, and I set out for Goojrawala, a large town. I wrote from hence to Runjeet Singh, and enclosed to His Majesty a proclamation, which I issued here in the Persian tongue, exhorting all nations to repent, and declaring to them that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, who died for our sins, rose again, and went to heaven; and that He will come again in the clouds of heaven; and that great judgments are already beginning to announce His great coming: viz. Pestilence, Earthquakes and Cholera Morbus.

*June 18.*—We arrived at Kore, 24 Eng. miles from Goojra-Wala. We lodged in a garden belonging to a holy man (Gooroo) of the Seiks.

*June 19.*—I left this place for Lahore. When entering Lahore, I received the following letter from Capt. Wade, Political Agent at the court of Runjeet Singh.

*Loodianah, June 15, 1832.*

My dear sir,

I have had the pleasure of receiving through Doctor Murray your letters from Jehaanger and Rawil-Pindee. That from Jehaangeer reached me at Simlah, the day I left that place; the other I received on the road yesterday. I informed Lord and Lady W. Bentinck of your safe arrival in Hurry Singh's camp, and that you might soon be expected at Lahore, which they were very glad to learn, as they have been anxious for some tidings of your safety, having heard of your departure from Teheraun for Toorkestaun and Lahore. Neither Lord nor Lady William had any letters for you from Lady Georgiana Wolff, which will no doubt be a disappointment to you. The last accounts which had been received of her were from Malta, when she still was in good health. I have written to Calcutta, to ascertain whether there are any letters for you there, and directed that they may be forwarded to my care, should there be any awaiting your arrival. An answer

may be expected within the month, before which I hope to have the satisfaction of seeing you at Loodianah, as my guest. Regarding your wish of visiting Cashmeer and Tibet, you had, I think, better speak to the Maharajah on the subject yourself. Mr. Burnes, whom you met at Cabool, was also desirous of seeing Cashmeer; but His Highness withheld his assent, and I have made it a point not to interfere in persuading the Maharajah to a measure to which he appears to object. Doctor Murray tells me, that he has written to Monsieur Allard to facilitate the resumption of your European costume, which I am sure the Chevalier will have great pleasure in doing, as well as in shewing you those marks of attention and hospitality, which are so natural to him. Since writing the above, the post has arrived with the enclosed letter for you from Lord William Bentinck, accompanied by another from Colonel Churchill. I have also just received your letter from Cabool, with the packet for Lady William, which I will forward to her Ladyship without delay. I refer you for the news of Europe to Monsieur Allard, to whom I beg you will offer my best regards. I hope to hear from you soon again.

Believe me, my dear sir, yours very faithfully,

(Signed)

WADE.

I had already arrived at Lahore, after having crossed the Ravee upon an elephant, and was stretched out upon a sofa in the house of Monsieur Allard, a French gentleman, General in the service of Runjeet Singh, who was absent at Amritsir, when I received the following letters.

LETTER OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

*Simla, June 12, 1832.*

Dear Sir,

I have learnt with much pleasure your safe passage through all the perils of the very long journey that you have undertaken, and I sincerely trust that your excellent endeavours may be crowned with success. Capt Wade shewed me the letter he had received from you. I have taken the liberty of desiring the Post Master General at Calcutta to send under cover to me any letters to your address, and I have also desired the Post Master at Delhi to send direct to Loodianah those that may have been received there. I have no letters from hence making any mention of Lady Georgiana, and the silence of the newspapers is always a satisfactory proof of the existence of distant friends. We have taken our residence in these mountains during the summer heats. Simla is only four days march from Loodianah, is easy of access, and proves a very agreeable refuge from the burning plains of Hindoostan. I hope I need not assure you of the gratification both Lady William and I should derive in receiving you here.

I remain dear sir, yours faithfully,

(Signed)

W. C. BENTINCK.



## LETTER FROM COLONEL CHURCHILL.

*Simla, June 11, 1832.*

My dear sir,

Accounts have reached this place of your arrival in the neighbourhood of Lahore; I understand that your probable intention is to proceed from that place to Loodiana on the Sutledge. I lost not a moment in acquainting you of my being at this station, and of expressing my hope and that of Mrs. Churchill, that you will not forget that you have cousins here, who will feel disappointed if you do not pay us a visit. The Governor General is here, as well as the Commander in Chief, to whom I am Military Secretary.

The station is worth your seeing, being lately established as the Montpelier of India. I hope Lady Georgiana was quite well when you left her. I request you will accept my services in any way they can be useful, in forwarding you to this place, where we hope to see you as our guest. Lady Bryant, a cousin of ours, is on a visit to us from Soobathoo, a place lower down in the hills. I request you will believe me,

My dear sir, very sincerely yours,  
(Signed) C. H. CHURCHILL.

To this, a very kind letter of Lady Bryant, inviting me to pay them a visit at Soobathoo, was annexed. How suddenly changed was my situation, after such a hard and troublesome journey.

Fakeer Noor Addeen Ansaree, one of the chief physicians and advisers of Runjeet Singh, handed to me a letter of His Majesty; the following are the contents.

“I received your kind letter informing me of your arrival at Cabool, and of the degree of your firm friendship, which, according to the most powerful treaty, shines like the sun; and that you arrived at Goojrat, by the grace of Agal Puruk; I was exceedingly happy to hear this, and have the pleasure to send Meer Murad Ali Shah, Jemedar, to join you in the vicinity of Goojrah or Vizirabad, and supply all necessary provisions, and guard you against thieves.

(*Seal of Runjeet Singh.*)

Lahore is a city containing about 80,000 inhabitants, with most splendid mosques, and a great many Mohammedan Mullahs. It is the winter residence of Runjeet Singh. In the summer he resides generally at Umritsir, a city entirely built by himself. There are at Lahore a great many Hindoos, and a few Armenians from Cabool. The Fakeer of Runjut Singh entered with me into a long conversation about Jesus Christ. Runjeet Singh has three such Fakeers, who are his physicians and chief advisers; their ancestors came from Arabia to Hindoostaun, some hundred years ago, and took service with the Mohammedan King of this country as physicians. During the time of the great-grandfather of the pre-

sent three Fakeers (for they are three brothers) the first visit from an European, of which they have any knowledge at Lahore, was that of Antoon Meseekh, who came in the character of a physician, and their ancestors feel themselves indebted to him for their medical information. He was a missionary from Portugal. The names of these three Fakeers are: Fakeer Azeez-oodeen, Fakeer Imaum-oodeen, and Fakeer Noor-oodeen.

Doctor Hoenigberger, a Jewish physician from Hungary, who had seen me in Mount Lebanon, called upon me; he was employed by Runjeet Singh, first as a physician, and then in the preparing of gunpowder, and of a kind of distilled spirits, which Runjeet Singh is in the habit of drinking.

I received from General Allard a letter, telling me that His Majesty Runjeet Singh wished me to come to Umritsir, when he would receive me with distinction; but that his Majesty did not wish me to circulate proclamations. Two hundred and fifty rupees were given me again by order of King Runjeet Singh.

*June 20.*—I left Lahore for Umritsir. We arrived at Pool, 22 English miles from Lahore. I received a second letter from the King; the following are the contents.

“I received your letter, stating your satisfaction with the treatment you received from Fakeer Noor-oodeen, and Ameer Bakhsh, and that your object in travelling was to visit the learned men of every sect and religion, and that you would proceed to Cashmeer and Tibet, if you could obtain my consent; and that you travel for the purpose of meeting clever men, if not, you would go to Simla, and return to your country, after having had an interview with me at Umritsir. I have to state as an answer, that after you shall have seen me, this point shall be considered, conforming to the force of friendship subsisting between this and the British government. Instructions have been sent to Fakeer Azeez-oodeen to introduce you to the learned men at Lahore.

(Signed)

RUNJEET SINGH.

RUNJEET SINGH.

As I am now soon coming to this great and extraordinary man, I think it worth while to give a short sketch of his life.

Runjeet Singh was the son of Maha Singh, a petty Rajah of Goojra-Wala, in whose time the Punjaub was divided among several Rajahs, who were continually at war with each other. Runjeet Singh was ten years old when his father died. He made friendship with several of the small Rajahs, and made war against Lena Singh, Rajah of Lahore, defeated him, and took the latter city. When Zemaun Shah Dooranee, King of the Affghauns, invaded the Punjaub, all the Rajahs of the country fled before him, and Runjeet himself fled with his army to Umritsir. At that time the news arrived in the Affghaun camp, that an intestine war had broken out at Cabool, and Shah Zemaun retreated. Immediately after this, the revolution in Affghanistaun took place, by which Shah Zemaun was dethroned, and the country thrown into disorder.

Runjeet Singh, being at liberty to prosecute his designs in the Punjab, became the Maharajah, or great King of all the Seiks. In the reign of Shah Mahmood Dooranee, he took the fort of Attock; afterwards he took the castle of Kote Kangra and Moulton, and finally completed his conquests, by driving the Affghans out of Cashmeer.

One day Runjeet Singh was riding in the field. He met a Fakeer. Runjeet Singh dismounted to perform his devotion to the Fakeer. The Fakeer, without looking at him, said, "What use is thy external devotion, as long as thou oppressest the poor, and tyrannisest over thy subjects?" The Maharajah promised to reform, and the account of this fact appeared in the court newspaper, published under his own eye.

#### SEIKS.

Runjeet Singh pays a great deal of respect and veneration to the Akalee, though he knows at the same time how to keep them in proper bounds.

The Seiks are capable of enduring great fatigue, as they have shewn in the attack of Cashmeer, when Runjeet Singh and his whole army subsisted seven days without lighting a fire. They are strong, powerful and athletic men, and esteem the fatigues of war a pleasure. The Seiks have of late introduced into their religious customs the burning of wives after the death of their husbands, like the Brahmins.

#### BABA BETEE SAHEB SINGH

Is the Pope of the Seiks. He is 100 years old, and a descendant of Baba Nanak, the founder of the Seiks' religion. He resides at Oonawala in the Himalayah mountains. When I asked a person belonging to this sect, in what his occupation consisted, he replied: "He can curse the Maharajah and all the Sirdars, and they humbly bow before him. He says to the Maharajah, 'I am he that has created and exalted thee.'" One day Runjeet Singh wanted to take possession of the castle Teere in the mountains. He went to Betee Saheb Sing, worshipped him, and said, "I want a horse of you, in order that the rest of my horses may be blessed." Betee Singh answered, 'Thou blind rascal, (for Runjeet Singh has only one eye) thou wantest a horse of me; I shall give thee a 100 bastinadoes.' Runjeet Singh said, "Not 100 only, but 500; only give me a horse." Betee Singh, seeing the humility of the Monarch, gave him a horse, and added, 'Tomorrow thou shalt be in possession of the castle.' And thus it was. Betee Singh has a property of £30,000 sterling. He remains up the whole night, and performs worship and ablution. He gives harsh words only to his followers; and those who patiently bear the reproaches, become pure, whilst those who are offended at them become hated by their own wives. He is however a great wretch: he has killed his own son.

Arriving at Pool, about 25 miles east from Umritsir, I received

an order from the Maharajah to stop there until the next day; for the Pundits and Brahmins had observed, that it was not a lucky day for me to enter the town of Umritsir. Monsieur Allard managed it with the Brahmins, by observing, that I might sleep outside Umritsir, in his garden house, till next morning. I therefore received a few hours after permission to advance towards Umritsir, in a Palankeen.

#### ARRIVAL AT UMRITSIR.

*June 20.*—Towards the evening my Palankeen stopped near a beautiful palace, situated in a garden; alighting from the Palankeen, I was embraced by a gentleman, with a silvery white beard, in an European dress; it was Monsieur Allard, ex-Aide de Camp of Marshal de Brun, and now General of the cavalry of Runjeet Singh.

*June 21.*—Chevalier Allard went to the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and announced my arrival. Soon after, a great many sweetmeats were sent to me by His Majesty. Monsieur Allard told me that the people, sent with these presents, had orders to report to the Maharajah upon my look, my person, and all I may say. In the evening, an elephant was sent by the Maharajah with several Officers, to convey me to His Majesty. We entered two or three court yards of the palace, when I suddenly observed in the open air, a little old man, with one eye, seated upon a chair; it was Runjeet Singh. At his left hand a boy, 12 years of age, was seated; immediately after, a great many Pundits and Brahmins sat upon chairs. A chair was placed for me opposite the Maharajah.

His Majesty asked me why I had taken such a dangerous journey through Toorkestaun. I replied, "On account of God, that I may speak with all Mullahs, and especially with the Jews, about the best way of serving God."

*Runjeet Singh.* (Pointing to the Pundits and Brahmins.) These are our Padri (Priests).

*Myself.* Are these Mussulmans? (He burst into a fit of laughter.)

In order to understand this laughter, one ought to know, that a Brahmin feels himself as much insulted by being called a Mohammedan, as a Mussulman in Turkey would feel by being called a Jew; but Runjeet Singh took it in good humour, and repeating my words said, "Are these Mussulmans?"

*R. S.* What is the chief thing, that a man should observe?

*M.* Solomon said, "The fear of God is the chief thing."

*R. S.* Our book (Grunt Saheb) says the same.

*M.* I am very far from denying that there are not good things contained in other religions; but I will ask a question of your Highness.

*R. S.* Ask.

*M.* What is necessary to be done in order to come nigh to God?

*R. S.* To do good.

*M.* How can a man perform good, if his heart is bad? God searches the heart; every one, who examines himself, will find



that his heart is inclined to evil; if that be bad, how can we expect good fruits?

*R. S.* A medicine is necessary for the heart of man.

*M.* I am astonished at this answer, no Mullah has ever given me such an answer; but I ask now, what medicine is to be used for the heart?

*R. S.* Do you tell me the kind of medicine.

*M.* The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

*R. S.* Have you a Persian translation of the Gospel, which the Fakeer could read to me?

*M.* I will send one from Simlah, as soon as I am with the Governor General.

*R. S.* Do so. How is it, that you travel about for the sake of religion? for the English in general do not care about religion.

*M.* Your Highness would be surprised to see what activity of religious exertions there is in England. Thousands of sterling pounds of money are spent every year for the sake of religion.

*R. S.* Have you heard of my conference with the Nawab Lard Saheb (Lord William Bentinck), held at Roopar?

*M.* I heard at Bokhara of that interview.

*R. S.* Is it likely that the Russians will soon come?

*M.* I do not think that they will come for the present.

*R. S.* Tell me sincerely, in what manner could I shew my sincere friendship to the English Government?

*M.* The Governor General of India is best capable of answering this question.

Immediately after my arrival, the dancing girls appeared, according to the custom of the country. His Highness asked me whether I should like to see them dance. I replied, as I was an English Brahmin I could not find pleasure in such amusements. His Highness desired them to retire. He asked me then, whether I drank wine. I replied, "Very little." He ordered wine to be brought. It was Runjeet Singh's peculiar wine, rather like a distilled spirit; it burns the mouth like fire. I wished to drink one drop of it to the health of His Majesty; but I was obliged to reject it.

*R. S.* Do you believe that nobody can die without the will of God?

*M.* Yes, I do.

*R. S.* Then, why are you afraid when crossing a river in a boat? I heard that you were very much afraid, when you passed the river at Attock.

*M.* I can give no answer but this, that God should be shewn to be mighty in my weakness.

His Highness gave me 1100 rupees, shawls worth 1000 rupees, and a horse worth 100 rupees.

June 22.—I left the hospitable dwelling of Monsieur le Chevalier Allard, and travelling partly upon an elephant, and partly in a Palankeen, we arrived at Jendeale, twelve miles east from Umritsir, accompanied by 25 horsemen of Runjeet Singh. Here a good many of the Akalee are met with, who make the road very unsafe;

for as they are privileged saints, they frequently insult Europeans.

*June 23.*—I arrived at Kaboor Talah, 60 miles east from Jendele. Here, Futteh Singh, an old and venerable Serdar (General) of Runjeet Singh, paid me great attention. In the evening we arrived at Jalandar, 10 Koss, or 30 miles east from Kaboor-Talah.

*June 24.*—We arrived at Pagwara, 25 miles east distant; and in the evening at Fellore, 35 miles east.

#### ARRIVAL AT LOODIANAH.

*June 25.*—I crossed the Sutledge,\* and arrived at Loodianah, the first English station of the utmost northern frontier of British India. "Now," I exclaimed, "through God's infinite goodness, I am safe! after so many troubles, I am safe! and the Lord has not permitted one hair to fall from my head; and the prophesy of those of Teheran, that I should not get beyond Meshed, has not been fulfilled!"

Captain Wade, the political Agent of the Honourable E. I. Company, received me with great cordiality, and so did Dr. Murray; they introduced me to Major Faithful, where I met, for the first time after 18 months, with an English family, and this in the midst of Asia Major. This gentleman was of the greatest assistance to me, especially in giving me exact information about the Seiks; he tells me their religion is a compound of the Christian, Hindoo, and Mohammedan religions, and he introduced me to both the Affghaun ex-Kings, Shah Zemaun, and Shujah Almulk. Poor Shah Zemaun was deprived of his eyes by Futteh Khan, one of his slaves, who experienced afterwards the same lot.

*July 1.*—I preached to the English inhabitants of Loodianah, and gave them two lectures.

I received to-day the following letter from Subathoo.

*Subathoo, June 30, 1832.*

My dear Mr. Wolff,

I have just received your letter, and Sir Jeremiah and I are delighted to find we are to have the pleasure of seeing you on Wednesday, when every thing shall be done on our part to further your wishes; and from all we heard from Simlah, from Lord William Bentinck and others, we have no doubt that you will receive every support in the pursuit of your object. Capt. Wade will tell you how very small a party is comprehended in the station of Subathoo: at present only three persons besides ourselves; but as we hope your stay with us will be of some duration, we can consult on the

\* *Punjab* means five waters, for there are five rivers: Sutledge, Beyah, (the Hyphasis;) Ravee, (the Hydriotes;) Jinab; Jelum or Behut, (Hydaspes.)

The Beyah is believed to be the Pison of Genesis ii. 11. This river rises in the province of Lahore, near the mountains of Cashmeer, and not far from the source of the Sutledge, which it afterwards joins; for the first 200 miles its course is to the south, after which it pursues a westerly direction.

plan you wish to be adopted, and be assured you will find in Colonel Bryant and myself, interested and eager supporters. I wish Capt. Wade could be prevailed upon to accompany you as far as Subathoo, &c.

My dear Mr. Wolff sincerely yours,  
(Signed) M. A. BRYANT.

## DEPARTURE FROM LOODIANAH.

*July 2.*—I left the house of the kind hearted Captain Wade, and set out for Subathoo and Simlah, in the Himmalayah mountains. I arrived at Machiawarah, thirty miles east from Loodianah.

*July 3.*—We arrived at Roopor, where a conference had formerly taken place between Lord William and Runjeet Singh.

*July 4.*—We arrived at Budde, 30 miles east from Roopor. Here the Himmalayah mountains begin. I sent on a messenger to Sir Jeremiah Bryant. Towards the afternoon, a letter from Lady Bryant, with a hill pony, a Jampoon, or hill chair, with some provisions were sent on to meet me on the road. I arrived at Subathoo at ten o'clock at night; Sir Jeremiah and Lady Bryant received me in the most cordial manner: here I found a letter from Lady William Bentinck, inviting me to be their guest at Simlah. I stopt at Subathoo a few days, preached to the English inhabitants on a Sunday, and lectured in the house of Sir Jeremiah Bryant; and then set out for Simlah. Half way to Simlah from Subathoo, I met with a Palankeen and bearers of Lord William Bentinck's. I alighted at his Lordship's house. Captain Byrne, the Aide-de-Camp of Lord William, brought me to a room that I might dress myself, and after this, I was received in the most cordial manner by Lord and Lady William Bentinck and the whole staff. I met there likewise with the Rev. H. Fisher, Chaplain to His Lordship, who was a great friend of mine when at Cambridge. I was told here, that the proclamation I had issued at Goojrawala made people suspect that I was crazy; and that was the reason why Lord William would not request Runjeet Singh to permit me to go to Cashmeer until he had seen me. In the forenoon, Colonel Churchill called on me, and introduced me to His Excellency Sir Edward and Lady Barnes, who invited me to dine with them the next day. In the evening a large party were invited to meet me at Lord William Bentinck's. Arrangements were made for my delivering lectures. I gave about twelve, and preached several Sundays, in the house of Lord William, and the house of Sir Edward Barnes. At the same time I employed myself in obtaining information, and conversing with Mohammedans. I one day lectured in the house of Nawab Mohammed Abd-Allah Khan. The following Mullahs of distinction were present:

Mohammed Khan Ali Khan.

Nawab Mohammed Abd-Allah Khan.

Sayd Mohammed Saker Ali.

Sheikh Mohammed Hassan Ali.

Mohammed Abd Urrahman.

Mohammed Sayd Bakht.

I called on Major General Adams, who told me the following story of Canaya, one of the incarnations of Krishna, observing in it a striking resemblance to the history of Christ.

“Canaya was born at Muttra. The name of the Rajah of that place was Konz. There was a prophecy, that a child should be born, which should deprive him of his kingdom; on which account he ordered all children under a certain age to be put to death, which was executed. The child Canaya was miraculously saved, and carried over to Gokul, where he was bred up among the shepherds. He shewed great wisdom at an early age.”

#### TALE, CONCERNING THE AFFGHAUNS.

A Mohammedan, and an English gentleman of a facetious temper, called on me. The Mohammedan told me the following fable of the Affghauns, and the origin of their name. “There was a King, who sent his people to several parts of the world, to procure him some slave girls. In a short time they brought a considerable number to their king, who allowed them a quarter in his apartment. In the morning, to the king’s great surprise, they were found pregnant. This created a dislike in the king towards them, and he sent them to a desert. There, at the expiration of nine months, they brought forth children, and were at a loss for some time what name to give to them. At last they agreed to adopt the name of Affghaun, i. e. *Aff*, the Dog barking, and *Ghaun*, a crow crowing, which happened at their birth.” The English gentleman present, told afterwards his friends, that he had made me believe a story about the origin of the Affghauns, which I had written down as a matter of fact. The gentleman, to whom he told the story, was my friend; he came and told me the sport, which the gentleman wanted to make with me, and desired me to scratch it out of my journal; however, I set him right, respecting it, by telling him that the gentleman had made sport of him; for in fact the story was not his invention, but one that passes current with the Mohammedans.

I gathered the following moral sentences. Mohammed says in the Haddees: “It is almost impossible for a man, when it lies in his power to gratify his brutal passions, to refrain from it; therefore a man should, in the first stage of life, guard himself against those evils, which are produced by our senses.”

Abool Olaw, a Dervish, says, “A man should not look at the clothes of a woman, nor allow his nose to partake of the sweet smell which arises from her body, nor his ears to hear her melodious voice; nay a man should not pass through a road where he thinks he shall be seen by women; for *beauty is the seed of lust*, and when it has once taken root in the mind, it cannot be extirpated by the force of virtue. A man should therefore avoid looking at a beautiful woman, and she at a handsome man; except those who are united to each other by the laws, which justify their enjoyments of mutual affections, which were before prohibited.”

Whilst at Simlah, I entered into correspondence with Captain



Riley, the best Arabic scholar in India, and with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Agra. I think it worth while to communicate to the public the letters which they wrote to me.

## LETTER OF CAPTAIN RILEY OF

Nusseerabad, August 9, 1832.

Dear sir,

I am duly favoured with yours of the 2nd, from Simlah, under cover from his Lordship's Military Secretary, and proceed with equal pleasure and interest to furnish you with any information I possess, in the queries set forth in your friendly conversation.

That you had arrived at Loodianah, from your travels amongst nations, whose religious persuasions obstinately hold out against the introduction of truth, wherever such may militate in contradiction to their received opinions, had reached me from the papers; and it was no later than yesterday, I was expressing a desire of an opportunity to be known to you, to hear from yourself the result of your enquiries in those countries, as they may more or less concern the double object of human welfare and general policy. I am happy to hear that after enduring the difficulties your laudable intentions could not but anticipate, you are now refreshed by your abode under the hospitable roof of British India's chief Ruler.

There is no subject you could introduce to me, in which I take more pleasure than the consideration of things, having for their end the propagation of truth. Truth, however repugnant such may be to the conflicting interests of individuals. Truth, however averse the endless variety of particular prejudices may be to its discovery. Disclaiming then all intemperate zeal, and desiring only to place within the reach of others, the humanizing principles we ourselves profess as the foundation of national superiority, we without fear of emulation seek to discharge an incumbent duty, increase respect and attachment for ourselves, and conform at once to views, which, with all the mildness of universal toleration, still suppose religious persuasions intimately connected with occurrences not unfrequently determining the fate of empires. I do myself the pleasure of replying to your queries, *seriatim*.

You observe that "Readers of the Talmud cannot but be struck with the conviction, that the writers of the Koran had been well acquainted with Jewish Doctors."

When the pseudo prophet made his appearance, the great doctrinal points, both of Jews and Christians, with more or less accuracy, according to the heresies prevalent in his day, were generally known to the Arabians; but to most of them much in the same way as the legends of Hindoos and the religious ordinances of Moohummud are known to the unlearned in Hindoostaun. We cannot be deceived in this, the Qoor-aun avowing Varuquh ibn Nouful; a Nestorian Christian and reader of the Gospels in Syriac, a relation of Moohummud's first wife Khudeejuh, without other assistance, which there was no dearth of, from other quarters, could have supplied him with every information necessary for his scheme,

and did actually very much encourage him to assume the prophetic character. In like manner Ubd-oollah bin Sulam, a Jew of Mecca, one out of many others, was very intimate with him. About 700 years before this enthusiastic would be Prophet, Yoosoof, surnamed Zoo Noovas, King of the Himyurites, in Yumun, was a great Jewish zealot, and persecutor of other sects. The Jewish tribes of Moohummud's time were, Ul Kunanuh, Ul Harith bin Kirb, Ul Kinduh, those of Khybur and others: the Christian tribes were those of Himyur, Ghussan, Rubeen, Tughlub and others in different parts of Arabia, with the Ethiopians in general.

1. I know of no Arabic manuscript mentioning the names of Rabbi Simon ben Shatah, or Rabbi Solomon; nor do I apprehend Moohummud had any other assistance in the substance of his book, than the occasional instruction his usual intercourse with Jewish Christian sectaries spontaneously afforded him. He and his followers affect to condemn the knowledge possessed by Monks and Rabbins, considering himself as one inspired, and with that distinction using their traditions only as subservient to his own purposes. This is maintained to the present day, and no Moosulman writer I am acquainted with, thinks it convenient to pursue such enquiries, taught as they are by their Qoor-aun, to believe that previous religions have been formally abrogated by the Prophet's mission. I should indeed be very glad to meet with any adherent of his, who had taken the trouble to acquire the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, or Greek languages, or even any modern tongue in search of religious information; that alone would very much enhance him in my opinion as a man really in earnest to penetrate the barrier that obstructs their present progress.

2. The Monk Boohyra is supposed by some Christians to be alluded to in that verse of the Qoor-aun: "We know, they say, a certain person teaches him: the tongue of him, they impiously allege, as a foreign one."

Let us not suspect Moosulmans to be forward in adducing human authority as the origin of what they choose to believe as Divine inspirations, granted to their Prophet; neither have I in the course of my reading their books fallen in with Sergius, Sued, or Boohyra the Monk, nor the succours of 12,000 men the Sabians talk of as furnished by him to Moohummud against the Jews of Khybur.

3. The Jews of Khybur were, I should say, originally like the rest of the Jewish tribes in Arabia before mentioned: they were attacked by Moohummud, nearly destroyed, and like others, compelled to pay tribute. We are informed in the Soonnuh, he subsequently declared no Jew should remain throughout his land. Doubtless they afterwards suffered great persecutions, and were from that country also scattered abroad amongst the nations. I concur in opinion with those who aver the Affghauns to be of Jewish descent, though these people now, as might be expected, are indifferent about acknowledging it: dissenting in this idea, as I do, from Mr. Elphinstone, who in one part of his work on Ka-

bool, slights that conjecture, and in another (Vol. I. page 309) tells us of a genealogist among them, who traced his origin to the Babylonish captivity. They have a great number of Hebrew proper names in their appellatives, and their dialect still retains the genitive sign of the Chaldees and Syrians and other marks of cognate affinity. But there is nothing extraordinary in the name of Khybur, which was a fort at no great distance from Mecca, and regularly deducible from its Arabic primitive. The Mooroojoozuhub is said to be a valuable work, as being scarce and better known in Arabia and Europe than in India; I have not perused it.

4. The wretched indifference, as well as ignorance of the Asiatic Jews of this age, judging from two or three specimens I have seen in India, I very much fear is equal to their bigotted brethren the Moosulmans, and I gather from what you observe of the Jerusalem Rabbins, they are desirous of looking on the Arabian Pretender as one of their own body. No Moosulman writer living under a Moosulman Government would (were the case even so) be daring enough to insinuate, that Moohummud was of Jewish descent, or his name Benjamin, Uhmud Ubool Qasim Moohummud, son of Ubdoollah, son of Ubdool-Moottulib (his mother's name Umeenuh) was of the noble, though idolatrous tribe of Fihr, surnamed Qoorysh, whose genealogy is clearly ascertained. It is possible indeed, that Ubool Qasim may afterwards have assumed the names of Uhmud and Moohummud, (and which is somewhat strengthened by his being so designated in the Qoor-aun) they being terms of remarkable import, and not in use before his era. They are as near as Arabic can well come to the "Desire of all nations," mentioned in Scripture under the epithet of "Hemdath" חמדת by the Prophet Haggai, which, as we may infer, being frequently repeated by Jews and Christians in his hearing, was willingly adopted by him. But in this you will observe with me, the Arabians have been caught by the sound, and deceived in the meaning (as well he might bring the unread Prophet) implying in Hebrew, "he desired or coveted," and has not even a remote connection with the Arabic *jummud*, "He praised." Thus you see, "Vox veritatis testis extingui nequit." Yet this man and his followers would on more accounts than one, have found much indulgence with me, had he not denied his Lord, and set himself up in a kind of partnership with his Deity; had he as a mere human lawgiver confined himself strictly to his own repeated declaration of "I am no other than a man like yourselves." But the Ulellahee believers of Persia, what can they have to do with him? They make a Deity of one he made no mention of in his revelations, and in direct opposition to the fundamental articles of his belief, proclaimed five times each day as a matter of perpetual recognition. Soonnees do indeed wrest, what they have heard Christians say of Christ, touching apotheosis, by applying it more or less to their Prophet, pronounced to be such Prophet by their word of God; while the Shee-uhs of Persia, not to be behindhand, apply it to his son-in-law Ulee, without any real authority at all.

5. The "Land of darkness" is an expression not very common here among the Soi-disant Faithful, though the notion is borne out by a passage in their book. They suppose it situated in some region of the world beyond that of Gog and Magog: there the fountain of life is said to be attainable: but is not this likely to have proceeded from the fairy tales of Sulman the Persian, or the romances of the Rabbins, as from any chance of the words used by Isaiah being particularly known to Moohummud? The difference between the Arabic *zalmat* and the Hebrew זלמח is greater in signification than sound. But after all, dear sir, is not that the "Land of darkness," where the true word of God is not fully known and appreciated?

6. Soonnees are the orthodox Moosulmans, like the Pharisees, holding Qoor-aun and traditions equally as objects of faith, though of course with greater reverence for the former: the Shee-uhs are seceders from them, as their name implies, adopted from a word in the Qoor-aun expressive of any separation from any aggregate body. The heresy I suppose to have been broached in Persia, not long after the establishment of this religion there. The cause is a jealousy, that the "Prophet's" own family should have met with no higher consideration than they did, being slighted in their succession to the Khalifate, which could hardly be otherwise, Moohummud having previously arranged with his copartners an enterprise to that effect.

7. Your 7th Query I have answered in par. 3.

8. The Book of Daniel besides that we already have, I have never seen. The modern Jews, I am aware, affect to reject that book as not purely prophetic; and why? because of its partial composition in Chaldaic and Hebrew. But we may imagine they have in reality stronger objections than this. Would not they, as well as Moosulmans, gladly accommodate us with more accurate copies than those at present in use? Yes, certainly, if the Septuagint of Ptolemy had not been extant.

9. The 'More Neboochim' of Maimonides in Arabic or Hebrew (whatever it may have been formerly), I may confidently answer, is now unknown to Moosulmans, although explaining the Laws of Moses by natural causes: but the commentators of the Qoor-aun have it not in their power, neither do they desire to deny, that theirs is a code of commands and prohibitions sent down expressly to meet all the exigencies of their religious, political, civil, military, and even private economy of their Prophet, his nation and followers, as is amply explained in the "causes of descents," treatises, on this head, which are many. Metaphysicians and physicians are the only people who seem occasionally gravelled, on points not to be accounted for in their "Divine Law;" and those cautiously restrain their conjectures, while professing Islam, within the bounds of prudence, or invest their lucubrations with such reference in the garb of ambiguity.

10. Your 10th Query is replied to in the 9th par.

11. The books Rawsat Assoofaa contain all that is known of



Moohummud Muhdee, which personage you also may find alluded to in the "body of traditions," so called. He is one of the signs of the last day, and is expected to be the forerunner of Eesa; which Eesa, according to the same learned authority, is to appear in Damascus, to destroy Anti-Christ, to perform ablutions and prayers, like any other good Moosulman, in one of the Mosques, and marry four wives, and have a numerous progeny to atone (we may presume) for his not having done so at his first appearance; or because his followers, or those who call themselves so (the Christians), have not conformed to his first spiritual direction. Moohummud Muhdee has found no place in the Qoor-aun: nor indeed could he, without that book suffering the corruption Jews and Christians are accused of by the writer of it, viz: a palpable interpolation, or a special miracle in the form of prediction, since he appeared as the 12th Imam son of Husunool-Uskuree, about 200 years after Moohummud's decease. This Moohummud Muhdee is to be looked on as a type of his ancestors, and is somewhere in concealment until the time appointed, and is named like his progenitor Moohummud."

12. When Moosulmans say our present copies of the Scriptures are corrupted, they say only what their Qoor-aun inculcates, what Soonnees say of Shee-uhs with reference to the traditions and arguments of each other; we cannot therefore hope other treatment at their hands. The Qoor-aun however applies this stigma in particular to the Jews, with no other object, of course, than the depreciation of both Jewish and Christian doctrines, to operate on the minds of men as a sufficient reason to neglect them. You ask: Is there any answer found to this objection in their commentaries? No, believe me, they are little accustomed to advance any thing to the disparagement of their own faith! for my part, I would meet this frivolous exception by appealing to their own innate experience, in the following proposition: "Is it not clear to the conviction of you, Moosulmans, that your Qoor-aun treats of matters which Jewish and Christian Scriptures (acknowledged therein as sent down from heaven) teach at large as religious doctrines? and can you really bring yourselves to suppose it probable, the book of your religious Faith, i. e. the Qoor-aun Mujeed, upon which depends your hopes of prosperity in this life, and your eternal happiness in the next, 5 or 600 years after its publication in different nations, could be easily corrupted, at the desire of certain of *yourselves*, at the same time professing their religious belief in it? Can you be ignorant of that sacred awe with which reverential Believers approach the foundations of their national religion, of whatever kind it may be, and wherever found? or of the jealous watch kept by men upon their best and most precious records, in all ages? and if so, does it not concern you nearly, to ascertain whether some change in after times, may not have taken place in the text of your word of God, knowing as you well do, that a fear, lest Moosulmans should fall (as is declared) into similar contradictions with those current among Jews and Christians, was the cause the first Moos-

huf or Qoor-aun was compiled by the first Caliph Uboo-Bukr, from unconnected writings left by your Prophet at his death, and produced by his wife Uaishuh: and the last or one now in use, by the 3d Caliph Oothman ibn Uffan, expressly to obviate the erroneous readings in different copies, without any divine revelation to these compilers ensuring its accuracy? you will answer, No, superstition in false religions, and a conscientious dread of Divine indignation in the true, is an all-protecting guardian. Grant then that the Jewish Scriptures were not corrupted by Ezra, nor that it was possible for him to do so, without being brought to shame: a man of such esteem among the Jews, that according to your word of God, the Jews have said of him, that he is the Son of God."

13. For your 13th Query I refer to par. 3. The black and white Jews of Cochin, and others in Malabar, are known to me on the authority of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan. To examine any Hebrew, Chaldaic, or Samaritan writings they may have, would, I conceive, be very gratifying to the London Jewish Missionary Society.

14. The fabulous river, somewhere in the East Indies, called Sambath-yon in rabbinical writings, I have always looked on as a convincing proof of that lamentable degree of ignorance they have arrived at; who amongst them, could write and credit such empty unmeaning tales?

As they delight in the wonderful, I beg to assist them with the Ganges, sometimes at a stand, and sometimes flowing from Gao-mookh or the Cow's mouth, at its rise in the hills.

The learned in Hindoostaun are not confined to any particular city or province: Delhi, Lucknow, Calcutta are first in fame. At Delhi, Mouluvee Ubdool Uzez, if still living, is regarded as the "Ne plus ultra" amongst Moosulmans of India; there are many others also in that city; but as to their being liberally minded on religious topics, those who are so, are further advanced than the generality, and must have learned to disregard the injunctions of their Qoor-aun, which declares illiberally enough: "Never entertain a sincere friendship for unbelievers, neither sit with, or listen to, those to whom the Scriptures have been given, lest they cause you to apostatize from your religion.

But notwithstanding all these difficulties, I, (as one has already said before me, "Did my situation correspond with my intentions,") without breach of peace, or trenching on liberty of conscience, without arrogating to myself what others could not equally well effect, could, me thinks, suggest such measures as would go near to neutralize the baneful influence, and expose the fallacy of this and similar pretensions to inspirations of so uncharitable a nature, in any country, and with peculiar advantages in this, from the variety of its sects and religious opinions, above all others; but the means? The pen and paper of rational and temporal reputation, as well for Hindoos as for Moosulmans, in the vernacular tongues, with accurate versions in them of all Scriptures, bearing the denomination of the word of God, the press with its publications of

useful knowledge in the same two colloquial languages of India, on the Socratic system, the hearty co-operation of the established Church clergy, in carefully and diligently reading their form of public prayer, in the places of public worship, one day in each week, for general edification in the same two dialects, i. e. the grammatical Hindoostanee of Delhi, and the pure Hindee, the copious introduction of European arts, improvements and inventions, by help of translations in physic, astronomy, geography, history, chronology, &c. in the same languages, in all the principal cities of this territory, and above all, the acquisition and general use of the English tongue, throughout India to be considered the sure path to preferment under the British Government; for all native schools being founded for the teaching of these three (in preference to Arabic, Persian, or Sanscrit, which should be suffered to fall into disuse amongst natives), with letter-writing and arithmetic, branches of education in greater request by the greater number, with books of all kinds, without exception, accessible to all. I say, with coadjutors such as these, we may safely reckon on the eventual demolition of the strongest holds of bigotry and heathenism, without fear of individual offence, without dread of collective destruction: and such is the paradeigma catholicon I prescribe for all mankind, less happy than ourselves in religious faith. And what, it may be asked, is to be the result of these preparations? The result will be, what few choose to deny, the utter impossibility of our principles being misrepresented, which is, and has been commonly the case; and respect for our own character thereby increased: while the fact generally assented to, by all people, acquainted with the workings of the human heart, is fully confirmed, that where men imbibe principles which openly or secretly incline them to agree in one and the same religion, as to essentials, and that religion is a good one, there is a stronger probability of their being sincere in their faith with each other, in matters of a temporal nature, in the day of adversity.

If you should not have read Sales' English translation of the *Qoor-aun*, I recommend it to your perusal. In the preliminary dissertation you will see much; together with the works in Hebrew, Arabic, and other languages, which that very profound scholar has consulted; and in your conversations with the learned in India (should you give preference to the Arabic as a medium) you will perhaps sometimes find it necessary to adopt the style in use here, for you no doubt have observed ere this, that the spoken Arabic of Erag and Syria differs somewhat from that of the learned in books, both as to pronunciation and style, though should you be conversant in the *Rekhutuh* or Hindoostanee, that would still better answer your purposes.

You have, dear sir, an ample field before you. Here, there is much to be done. Freedom of speech is not denied; but freedom of the pen is better. Still I would advise no one to undertake religious argument, with either Hindoo or Moosulmans, particularly the latter, who has not given his attention to all the concerns of

their persuasions. Some have done so, and have failed, thereby affording their opponents new accession of strength; and it is surely unreasonable to suppose, they or any other people will embrace a new religion, until they are convinced of the fallacy of the old. Many of our clergy here, in their discourses to these people, use the word Eesa, and sometimes with the appendage "Peace upon Him," as descriptive of Christ, thereby furnishing a handle to their adversaries to call in question the sincerity of such teacher's belief. Eesa is a mere Prophet, inferior (in their estimation) to Moohummud, for whom you well know they always pray on taking his name, with this marked distinction, "the comfort of God and peace upon Him!" Now seeing Eesa is nothing less than an Arabic corruption of the Greek  $\text{IH}\Sigma\text{O}\Upsilon\text{S}$ , how much more congruous would it be uniformly to express it by the languages in which it can only have that meaning which the Scriptures attach to it, viz. Yeshooa or Saviour, as in Hebrew and Syriac.

In India both these classes affect to be mightily prepossessed in favour of what they call learning. Among the Moosulmans of less learning, you will generally find your answer in, "You have your religion, and I have mine;" and with those who would make a show of listening to you, whether you have acquired the seven sciences; 1. Koran; 2. Grammar; 3. Philology; 4. Eloquence; 5. Logic; 6. Metaphysics; 7. History; (an answer given by Ubdool Uzeiz of Delhi to an Arab convert of Busruh, formerly in my service, as an excuse to avoid a trial of strength in these matters on paper;) for they have always Sheikh Su-dee ready at call with, "Every one can give an answer with these sciences;" to which I recommend your reply from their Kulamoollah, "Confound fallacy with the full light of truth, and it shall quickly vanish from before you."

Wishing you every success in the arduous enterprises you may undertake for the dissemination of true religion, for which also we may cite the Sree Bhaguout of the Hindoos as a guarantee for so laudable a motive as that of propounding for their serious consideration Him...whose incarnation was for the saving grace and general good of all mankind; I conclude you will agree with me, these are but feeble rays, converging to the fuller display of that effulgent light which the glorious Labarum of the Hebrews can only unfold: מִי כָמוֹתָ 'Who amongst the gods is like unto Thee, O Jehovah?'

I am, dear sir, your's truly,  
(Signed)

S. RILEY.

LETTER FROM THE SAME, DATED

*Nusseerabad, August 28, 1832.*

My dear Sir,

Your favour of the 21st reached me this morning. Give me credit (and I nothing doubt you will) that I express my genuine sentiments in saying it would be impossible I should delay in acknowledging a letter so fraught with the warm feelings of friend-



ship, on that ground alone, did not the sacred office of one who has entered with me on a learned correspondence, command my lively and sincere attention. I therefore again avail myself of our good friend Captain Benson's kindness, as the medium of communication.

But before I proceed further, I deem it necessary, that I should endeavour to divest your mind of one particular, which in the generous nature of your indulgence to my defective attainments, it would appear to me you have entertained: I mean that I, being a layman, should presume to point out any thing as worthy the notice of the priesthood, but as mere private opinion of my own, and offered on application, with a view of making easy the path of those, whose pursuits in the propagation of true religion may require such aid, to the more effective discharge of their benevolent intention. In all these things I am neither fitted from my secular profession, nor as I too well know, am I even in a remote degree qualified with those high and excellent gifts, which the sublime doctrines of Christianity, and the strict observance of its moral precepts can confer for such a teacher. I neither am, my dear sir, nor would be thought, other than an humble, but laborious *Nethinim*, whose province is to serve with alacrity those who in their sacred order tread the courts of the house of God.

I should be most happy to see you, could that be effected with perfect convenience to yourself: though, pardon me when I say, I would not advise the loss of precious time such as yours, nor the making a circuit of such extent on my account. Any information I may have gained in the course of studies, directed in these matters purely in search of truth, you may always command by letter; and although on subjects, whether of a spiritual or temporal nature, there must amongst mankind in its present state ever be some diversity of opinion, (operating the especial pleasure of Providence towards ultimate corroboration) I shall never be backward, when you require it, in sending you my ideas to be made whatever use of you may think fit.

'Tis thine the voice of truth to hold, though threat'ned  
 Flames should falsehood fence;  
 But sorry servants, I've been told, serve a mere servant  
 At the Lord's expense.'

In the last translation of the New Testament in the Turkish, the words Eesa, Peace upon Him, with other Moosulman ejaculatory expressions, in reverence of the Deity, have been permitted, though justly objected to by Mr. Henderson as forming no part of the text, and supported by M. Le Baron Silvestre De Sacy, in his examination of the version: and it is still to be seen in the first Ordo translation of the Rev. H. Martin in the title page. The second edition, printed at home, together with the Church liturgy, still retain "Eesa," although the Roman "Biblia Sacra Arabica de Propaganda Fide," of 1671, as well as the Syrian and Hebrew New Testaments, have uniformly given 'Jesu' i. e. *yrw*. Now, you will say, whose business is this? is it not that of the clergy

to rectify these and other such matters? Doubtless it is; but the zealous have not ability, and the lukewarm want inclination; while the love of this present life transcendently pervades us all. So often as the word “Eesa” is sounded in the ears of Moosulmans, it never fails to bring to their remembrance the man-worship denounced in their Qoor-aun:

“And when God shall say unto Eesa at the last day, O ‘Eesa,’ son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, ‘Take me and my mother for two gods, beside God? he shall answer, ‘Praise be unto thee, it is for me to say that which I ought not, if I had said so, thou wouldst surely have known it.’ On this account then, there is nothing I hold more necessary, than a firm resolution to repel all compromise, but rather to show a scrupulous adherence to this particular, the Deity as well as the humanity of the Messiah. That Moosulmans should patiently listen in their preliminary instruction to what our religion teaches on this most important doctrine, (the very stumbling block of all deists in the main) as taken from our Scriptures, in direct contradiction to their own, is what we can no more command from them, than they, *cæteris paribus*, could expect from us. In the establishment of these fundamental articles of our belief, we should previously arrange against them what is to be found to the point and purpose, from the authority of their own word of God, the “Qoor-aun.” We should repeatedly call their attention to this, and demonstrate to them, that the man therein called “Eesa,” is also expressly denominated the Messiah the *son* of Mary, the Word of God, the Spirit of God; and as concerning his birth by Mary, the God of the Qoor-aun does express himself “Verily *we* have breathed into her (nature) of *our* Spirit;” then advertng to other Prophets therein mentioned, such as Moses, Moohummud, &c. we should call on them to point out, first, who is to be compared with the personage dignified by such extraordinary epithets? What (if he were no more than other Prophets gone before) should have induced their God to suspend, in *his* nativity alone, the ordinary course of nature, and crown him with designations which interfere with his own essence? Who like “Eesa” and *his Mother Mary*, were by himself pronounced *immaculate from all sin*. Who worked his miracles? Who was taken up into heaven? And who, like him, has been announced to them as one that for a specific purpose shall reappear at the last day? Why should it be cause of offence to you Moosulmans, that Christians worship the Messiah, the Word of God, the son of Mary, &c.; and whereas, if they did not so, would they not incur this God’s wrathful indignation? And how could they discharge their duty as professors of the true religion, how prove that they believed it themselves, did they not endeavour to persuade you to the same, with this verse of your Qoor-aun as voucher, that the error of him you call your Prophet proceeded as much from ignorance as intention: “If God had a son, I should be the first of his worshippers!” Having in this manner reduced them to the confession that Eesa was sent with all these awful distinctions, in

no other capacity, than that of a Jewish teacher or Prophet, to teach what had long before been zealously taught and professed, namely, the worship of the God of Israel, and proved to them from the Qoor-aun, the utter want of miraculous interposition in any shape whatever given to Moohummud, on any occasion, from many declarations set forth therein to that effect, which they have considered as so indispensable to their Prophet's mission, that there is nothing of that nature adduced by any other, which they have not in their traditions (contrary to the Qoor-aun) ascribed to him far more wonderful in degree and superior in number. I would then, and not till then, refer them first to the studies of the New, and afterwards the Old Testament of our Scriptures.

With regard to the Ughans, I think enough has been advanced to suspect their origin connected in some way or other with the house of Israel: but after all, of what consequence is it from whence they are descended, could they but be persuaded to adopt a religion which would teach them to exchange the barbarous ferocity of savages, for the benign precepts of Christianity; though to obtain that inestimable benefit, we might most cheerfully forego, should such be their choice, whether to Moosulmans or Hindoos respectively, their abstaining from beef and pork, or wine. Rom. xiv. 15.

Refutations of the Qoor-aun more than one have been composed with different degrees of ability. There should now be two more: one a concise treatise in the form of question and answer, discussing and meeting objections with brevity, but with strong and direct reasoning, something in the style of Immanuel Tremellius' Catechism; another at large, being a version of the book for India, in Hindoostanee and pure Hindee, with refutations in form of notes. The traditions should undergo the same ordeal in the same languages, that Hindoos may derive equal benefit from these investigations. Our Scriptures yet require a careful revisal in both dialects; proper names corrected conformably to their just pronunciation in the originals to which they belong: other improvements both in Persian and Hindee letters may be recommended to facilitate the reading to the unlearned, with parallel passages referred to in the margin, as in our own Bibles, (a measure, some of the Calcutta good folks affect to be prodigiously alarmed at.) These arrangements, with others of a similar nature for the introduction of useful knowledge, as well for Hindoos as Moosulmans (until such time as English can be better and more generally understood), would be of service to all classes, particularly the lower ones in this country, both male and female, in moral instruction, which hereby would be made easy for them in their mother tongues.

I should think but few natives of Hindoostan, Durveshes or Moollahs, are in the habit of travelling into China or as far as Yarkund. Since the connection of India with Great Britain, there is less curiosity than formerly, for any countries short of those of Europe amongst Hindoostanees: nor is that curiosity sufficient of itself to overcome their apathy (I speak generally), where their interest in worldly matters is concerned. I have not heard of any who have travelled so far.

The days of the Caliphs came to an end on the taking of Bagdad A. D. 1258. The Soonnees of India look on the King of Room, or Sooltan of Constantinople, as first in rank of Moosulman Princes, and as the barrier against Christendom: but not as a Caliph, for Turks and Tartars are no part of the Saracen Dynasty. The religions of Bokhara and Balkh are those of the Soonnee Mooslims (and in their situation serve as a check on the Shee-uhs of Eeran); but the Sheeuhs of India are of course hand in hand with the Persians.

I read in the Meerut Observer what you mention. No perspicacity was required to see by the style of that paper, that much more was visible to the editor and his correspondent, than appeared to any body else at any other place.

I am overjoyed to find the Jews of Jerusalem are partial to the book of Daniel. But is it the one we read, or one of their own? I should have thought that book if read with faith, and knowledge of past and present times, sufficient to induce such Jews to look for their Messiah where he may be found; for Christians pretend not to draw the line of discrimination between those who are Prophets, or Seers, or Dreamers of dreams, when such truths are given from on high. Revelations, being such, are of equally divine authority. It is notorious, however, that Jews, both of the East and West, are accused of preferring their Talmuds and Targums, not excepting the Law of Moses; comparing the Bible to water (the meaner element), the Mishnah to wine, and the Gemara to spiced wine. Thus in the Jerusalem Talmud: "The words of the Scribes are more amiable than the words of the Law;" and again, "The words of the Elders are more to be desired than those of the Prophets;" and again the Rabbinic axiom, "Do not desire more or greater glory than thine own doctrine."

I am unacquainted with any professing Sooffees of Hindoostaun, though there are such. Amongst Moosulmans here, both Soonnees and Shee-uhs, those who affect a remarkable sanctity (such as Moorsheeds, Peers, Qulundurs, and Fuqeers), are involved in a similar mystery with what you have discovered in the Sooffees of Persia; a compound of avarice and sensuality, at times unrestrained, at other times under the disguise of a hypocritical recluse, religious semblance, to which they may (as occasion may be and require) be brought to add the fanaticism and intolerance of frantic bigots, heightened into frenzy by draughts and drugs of various descriptions. This must always be expected in a superstition constituted like that of Moohummed; though under Divine Providence, and efficient government, these deleterious principles may be dormant.

Gog and Magog I conclude as designating in the figurative language of prophecy, those mighty nations of the North; particularly the Tartar tribes, who at one period overran the greater part of the known world. They are of course by position connected with the Russians.

The Hindoos, in their ancient writings, are entirely ignorant of



the Jews, Abraham, Moses, &c. The Poorans, in their legends, according to their own mythological scheme, give, under corresponding appellatives, some account of Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth, also of a flood. Some would trace this information up to the time of their dispersion from the great family of mankind at Babel; others suppose it borrowed from surrounding nations. You have no doubt read in Europe of the particulars of their religion, of the different descents or incarnations of Vishnoo, the first of the three great deities created by "Bruhm," for the management of the universe. Thus in the Sree Bhaguvat: "Tell to the believers those great and noble actions, celebrated by the learned, of him, who with ease assumes any form."

Their learned language is the "Sanskrit," i. e. a perfected idiom (in contradistinction to the "Prukrit," or natural dialect) a sacerdotal tongue, which by their laws is allowed only to Brahmins, who in their hierarchical order claim an equality with the Gods themselves. It does not appear at any time to have been vernacular, but is the Gazophylacium, in which all their miraculous nothings are locked up. Of these I am content to say, "Ex nihilo nil, in nihilum nil posse reverti." Some Europeans have imagined a similarity in the Triad of the Hindoos, to that mysterious truth very discoverable in the Jewish Scripture and ancient Jewish writers, alluded to by the author of the book Zohar, touching the three degrees of Elohim, as existing in separate personifications, yet united in essence: and this, they would also infer, the Hindoos have received by tradition, previous to their settling in the land now called by their name. But such is the natural duplicity of the inhabitants of the present day, the wise Hindoos, and such their disregard of truth, in what concerns their antiquity, and legendary learning, that they have been known to fabricate particular passages in their writings, and palm them off on their too credulous employers, as writings of ancient date, with a view to ingratiate themselves, where their individual interests require it. This superstition in our dominion is silently declining, and we owe it to the humanity and energetic government of Lord Bentinck, that the barbarous immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their dead husbands (one of the horrid rites of Tophets) has been without real difficulty of any kind for ever exploded here. Sophocles in his Oedipus has well said: "The Deity himself will easily show the *utility* of what He investigates."

I shall be glad to hear of any signs on the part of the Jews, Western or Eastern, of turning towards Christianity. Do they read the Hebrew New Testament? Do they give ear to arguments proposed to them in the tracts distributed by the Mission Society for their edification? Or do they, like the Moosulmans Mouzzins (criers to prayer), put their fingers into their ears when they recite their creed, as a predetermination that they will hear nothing else? Have you made any converts amongst them? or amongst the Moosulmans in the countries through which you have passed? It is my first and sincere desire that the House of Israel should (dis-

carding Talmuds and Targums for the universal adoption of the two Testaments) become preachers of the Gospel, as well as of Moses and the Prophets; that they may again be established in their own land, and therefrom issue forth to convert the heathen to the God of the Hebrews, in the person of the true Messiah, before his second coming.

Your observation on the  $\gamma$  of the Chaldees, that it is found amongst the northern as well as other languages of Europe, is a truth requiring no comment; and this little particle I hold to be the most unobliterated symbol, now left us by time, of that language perhaps in use amongst the descendants of Noah, anterior to their diverging from one common point on this globe, for the founding of kingdoms and nations in all lands.

You ask me my opinion of the interpretations of different prophecies. I can say no more here, than that all the sacred volume contains, spirit and letter, is the object of my firm, unshaken faith, inclusively in one view, exclusively in another: and that I may the better understand its contents, and interpret spiritual things by spiritual, I never cease to peruse it with diligence; and as oft as I have done so, close it with that awful, comfortable, and complete satisfaction, which a religious and conscientious conviction of its truth can alone confer.

I cannot be otherwise than greatly pleased that my letter should have been honoured by the perusal of Lord and Lady William. There is nothing in this or that, which may not be proclaimed on the house top. Nay, it is even expedient, the power and dignity of the state should be acquainted with the sentiments of subordinates. 'Tis their's to amend, qualify, countenance and correct; and thereby increase the confidence of the subject.

You would fain have me employed, I see, in literary works, of a nature calculated to augment the religious and moral improvement of the Moosulmans. This country has had, and may still have, talented individuals better qualified in this respect than I am; yet, as a well wisher to mankind in general, I can yield to none, though my situation is such, as to leave little hope of your anticipation being verified.

Wishing your journey to Calcutta every way agreeable, your health unimpaired, and your labours both satisfactory to yourself, and profitable to others,

I remain, my dear sir, yours truly,  
(Signed) S. RILEY.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE SAME, DATED

*Nusseerabad, September 3, 1832.*

My dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to return your journal, which I have perused with very great interest, and am sure the community, both of Great Britain and British India, will cheerfully acknowledge how much they are indebted to you for all the instruction on various topics of information your travels in those remote regions have fur-

nished you with. I see, however, I have not been mistaken in the present state of the Jews. Think of the degraded condition of Israel, chaunting the licentious odes of that mystagogue Moohum-mud Hafiz, and the foolery of Yoosuf and Zuleekha, (in open defiance of professed religion,) instead of “Biresheeth bara eloheem eth hash-shamayim vi eth ha-arez,” and “Yabo Sheeloh vilo yiq-huth ummeem,” taking the trouble to write them in the sacred character of the Hebrews, and in some instances, avowing their fraternal affection for the Amalekite Moosulman, by reciting the pseudo prophet’s creed. Many, many years, I fear, must elapse, and many revolutions roll o’er their heads, before they can be even brought to that degree of morality, ordinary morality, which could fit them for the love of truth. There must be in every nation a sense of shame, and proper pride in the emulation of real virtue, before the purity of true religion can be either appreciated or admired. To effect this with them, and others of their stamp amongst the misled, the bigotted and superstitious, mere temporary peregrinations of itinerant devotees will have no other effect, I opine, than that of fanning the pernicious fire which now consumes their carious bones. Yet, notwithstanding these untoward symptoms, we are not discouraged, but prefer, (if I understand rightly the spirit of Christian philanthropy,) performing a positive duty, and the satisfaction it confers, to any pusillanimous apprehension of unsuccessful effort. Every religion professing itself true, must, in justice to mankind at large, be proclaimed, not with fire and sword, but by placing its precepts in such a situation that they on application may be had by conviction. The intelligence your journal has furnished, while it gives us an insight into the countries passed through, plainly tells us where preachers are wanted; and those who direct these matters at home, would do well to consider the advantage of two or more Missionaries of the Gospel sojourning a certain period of time together in those benighted lands, preaching one and the same doctrine, and recommending themselves to the notice of the inhabitants, by the gratuitous practice, at proper times, of physic, (which, as that science in the present day has been much facilitated, any well informed European, without being a regular practitioner, might, as much as is here required, conscientiously undertake) and endeavour at the cure of the body, as auxiliary to their efforts, towards that of the soul. The former, I am satisfied, would command an unfeigned esteem, and contribute not a little in establishing a predisposition of mind highly favourable towards the latter. Thus did (as I am informed) that worthy apostolic Schwartz at Tanjore, who of all preachers in India appears to have been the most successful. The Jesuits also, in other places, commenced in this way, which they were wise enough to know the value of. I trust what you have said concerning the Seeah-posh, Speen Kafirs, will attract the notice of some of the societies at home. They are as yet only arrived at that crude standard of superstition, which might easily, I suspect, be eradicated, under judicious treatment; and a few pious men of

the Church of England, taking up their abode amongst them, aided as aforesaid, and being relieved when necessary, (supposing them to be in earnest,) might civilize (one cannot tell how much) these savages, and call into existence a Christian people, on the true frontier boundaries of India, the Hoary Hindoo Koosh. You know, the word Seeah-posh is a term used also by Moosulmans, as expressive of Christian Monks and Anachorites. I observe in your vocabulary of their dialect a few words of Indian origin, particularly the Sanscrit word pronounced by them Sooch, meaning "clean." They have also other words of Hindoo dialect.

In another place of your journal I see you mention being informed the Sanscrit word "Meer" means "a hill," which is erroneous; Meer, in Sanscrit, implies "an ocean," not "a hill." But neither Ocean nor Hill would make sense of that period in the journal, which I apprehend to have been miscopied. "He ordered the Deo Kush to draw away the water, and a certain Meer built a town there." I should understand this as meaning nothing more than that a certain Umeer (pronounced in India without the Ulif) i. e. a certain Chief built a town there. The best Pundits (Teachers) of the Sanscrit are to be found at Cashmeer; but all information concerning Hindoo learning from Moosulmans is little to be depended upon. Your informant's name was Moollah Ubdool Qader of Cashmeer, and wherever Solomon the King (the Jewish one) is remembered by a Moollah, you may be sure of a Jewish fiction, set off in the first style of Moohummudan amplification.

I shall be greatly gratified at receiving a printed copy of your journal, at your convenience, as a keepsake; which, believe me, I shall frequently refer to; and as I know you will take my observations herein offered, as they are intended, on the score of friendship, I would advise the adoption of that scheme of English orthography in expressing Asiatic words, which the college of Fort William has rendered classic in this country, preserving every Oriental character with its accompanying vowel point in the same, ensuring both a correct enunciation of it, and enabling the reader to turn them back into the tongues whence they came, without hesitation. All the languages of Asia submit to this arrangement with perfect pliancy; Mush-hud, Bokhara, Balkh, Boot-Bamyan, Moohummud Moorad Bey, Jubur Khan, Ubbas Mirza, Rubee Peenhas bin Simlah, Muha Raja Runjeet Singh, Umrit Sur. In the oopunishut of the Yujoos Ver, it is said: "The wise say, one fruit arises from knowledge, and another from the want of it;" what these fruits are, they leave us to guess: but I am sure you will believe me to be,

My dear sir, your sincere well wisher,

(Signed

S. RILEY.

A letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop and Apostolic Vicar of Agra in Hindoostaun, dated Agra 20th August, 1832.

Illmo. Signore,

Troppo mi ha la S. V. Illma. onorato col suo pregiatissimo foglio in data dei 12 del corrente mese. Mi fece stupire l'intendere, ch'



ella abbia udito molto a parlare della mia gentilezza e generosità, poichè io vivo tanto oscuro, che non so come vi possa essere persona, che parli e pensi a me. Ma come ella vuole, che sia così, tuttociò attribuirò non a mio merito, ma alla pura bontà di chi mi seppe soffrire. L'essere la S. V. Illma. dei dissenzienti dalla Sta. Cattolica Chiesa, non farà mai, che resti dal concepire tutta quella stima, che al suo merito è dovuta, e dal pregiarmi di essere stato fatto degno dei suoi preziosi comandi, in esecuzione dei quali così alle sue questioni a rispondere comincio.

Alla prima e seconda questione dico, che la nostra Missione deve considerarsi sotto due aspetti, e come Missione Indostana e come Missione Tibetana. Come Missione Indostana, la religione Cattolica fù primieramente introdotta nel Paccim, ossia Occidentale parte dell' Indostano dai RR. PP. Gesuiti esistenti allora nel Colleggio di Goa, al tempo, e col beneplacito del Grande Imperatore Akbar per impegno di una certa Signora Giuliana di Goa, che come Dottoressa si trovava nel Serraglio del suddetto Imperatore. Alla totale soppressione dei Gesuiti, per ordine della Sta. Cong. di prop. Fede sottentrarono al carico di questa Missione i RR. PP. Carmelitani sotto la dipendenza del Vicario Apostolico residente in Bombay. Ma in seguito non essendo i Carmelitani più in istato di provvedere di Missionarj la Missione, essa per decreto della prelodata S. Congregazione fù nell' anno 1784 consegnata ai R. PP. Capuccini, i quali sotto il nome di Missionarj del Tibet avevano eretta già la loro Missione nelle parti del Parub sotto la direzione di un Prefetto, che resiedeva in Patnà, ed in questa guisa delle due Missioni Indostana, e Tibetana se ne formò una sola sotto gli ordini di un solo Prefetto. E così fino all' epoca presente sono i PP. Capuccini di San Francesco che continuano a portare il carico di questa Tibeto-Indostana Missione. E con ciò resta risposto eziandio alla sua settima questione. Quando poi i PP. Capuccini cominciassero la loro Tibetana Missione, è pregio della narrazione di sapere, che tale Missione è molto posteriore a quella dell' Indostano, imperciocchè solo nell' anno 1704 regnando Clemente XI. furono pella prima volta i PP. Capuccini spediti nel Tibet, aventi per Superiore, e Prefetto Apostolico il M. Revdo. Padre Guiseppe d' Ascoli. I P. Capuccini perseverarono nel Tibet nella città di Lassa fino all' anno 1745, in cui furono obbligati di ritirarsi, ed abbandonare i pochi Christiani, che aveano convertiti, per non essere stato loro concesso di condurseli seco fuori del paese. Sortiti i Missionarj dal Tibet si fissarono nel Nepal, ove eressero tre chiese in tre distinte città, cioè Katmandu, Patan, e Batgao, per servizio dei novelli Cristiani Nepallesi. Ma in un paese del più stravagante, e capriccioso dispotismo, i neofiti si trovavano esposti a continue vessazioni, ed i Missionarj colla via chiusa alla predica-zione del Vangelo, chiesero licenza a quel regolo di ritirarsi dal Nepal con tutt' i loro proseliti, che loro fù concesso. Questi Christiani Nepallesi sono stati collocati in un villaggio detto Chohooree due leghe distante dal Bettiah, che dall' Onorabile Compagnia Inglese unitamente ad alcune centinaia di Bigoch di terreno

in Bettiah furono munificentemente alla Missione dei Capuccini donati. Da questo tempo in poi, cioè dal 1765 o 70, il Prefetto della Missione Tibetana cominciò a risiedere in Patnà. L' ultimo Prefetto di questa Missione Tibeto-Indostana fù il Mto. Reverendo Padre Angelo da Caraglio, il quale si dimise in Agra dalla Prefettura all' arrivo del primo Vicario Apostolico Monsignor Zenobio M. Capuccino Vescovo di Thermien (in partibus) nell' anno 1824, che in Agra morì dopo due mesi del suo arrivo, cioè ai 23 di Giugno an. ut sup. Però Fr. Antonino, pure dell' ordine dei Capuccini, dopo più di 20 anni di Missione essendosi ripatriato per finire nel ritiro del suo Convento i suoi giorni, la Sacra Congregazione lo ha obbligato a ritornare nell' Indie per succedere nell' uffizio ei Prefetto e Vicario Apostolico al summentovato Monsignore di buona memoria. Pertanto fù consecrato Vescovo di Esbonen in Roma, ed in questa Babilonia rimandato a piangere i suoi peccati, ove vi arrivò l'anno 1827 ai 15 di Marzo, e da quel giorno in qua fece sua dimora in Agra per servire i Cristiani di quel luogo e dei contorni, e dei Cattolici Irlandesi quivi stazionati, e di tutta la Missione *ab ortu usque ad occasum*; ma però imbecille qual sono non fo che occupare il posto inutilmente. Ecco dunque informata la S. V. Illma eziandio circa il Primate, ossia Superiore di questa Tibeto-Indostana Missione. Passo ora a rispondere al terzo, sesto, e settimo quesito, e dico, che le Chiese Cattoliche attualmente esistenti in questa nostra Missione sono le seguenti: La Chiesa di Agra a cui presiede il suo umile servo Fr. Antonino Pezzoni Capuccino Vescovo di Esbonen, Vic. Aplico. e Prefetto. La Chiesa di Sardanah retta dal R. P. Giulio Cesare da Caravaggio, Capuccino. Le Chiese di Cownpoure, e Lucnow assistite dal nostro Vic. Gen. il Mto. Rdo. Padre Adeodato da Perugia Capuccino. Le Chiese di Bettiah, e Chohooree sotto la direzione del Revdo. Padre Gioacchino da S. Anatolia. Le Chiese di Chunargurh, Patnà, Bhaglpoure, e Purnea raccomandate all' assistenza del Revdo. Padre Gaetano da Taormina Capuccino. In Chandernagor abbiamo pure una Chiesa, ed Ospizio, pei Padri invalidi, o per ricovero dei Missionarj o che vengono, o che vanno per l'Europa, ma fuori del recinto di detto Ospizio, colà non abbiamo giurisdizione alcuna; presentemente si trova in esso il Revdo. Padre Ippolito da Genoa, che per le sue fisiche indisposizioni si prepara al ritorno per l' Europa, che dovrebbe essere seguito da alcun altro, che non ha meno bisogno del primo di cambiar aria. Ma me meschino che sono privo di qualunque appoggio per purgare la Missione dalla zizzania! Avvertà però V. S. Illma, ch' il nostro Vicariato non si estende fuori dell' Indostano, e per conseguenza le Missioni dei P. P. Portughesi, o Francesi, niente hanno a che fare con me. Le Chiese che avevamo in Lassa, nel Nepal, in Lahor, ed altri luoghi, o sono ugagliate al suolo, o abbandonate. Ma dirà V. S. Illma, che la S. Congregazione non manda sufficienti operaj pel sostegno di questa Missione, cui rispondo per essere questo il suo quinto quesito.

La Sacra Congregazione di Prop. Fede, cui tutta questa Missione è soggetta, non ha mai mancato, nè manca colle dovute pro-

videnze di freschi supplementi. Ma prego prima V. S. Illma, di fare considerazione, che la summentovata S. Congregazione non può disporre che di quei soggetti, che da se stessi si offrono al servizio delle S. Missioni, ed in caso, che gli offerenti siano pochi, come potrà la S. Cong. regolarmente supplire col dovuto numero di Missionarj? Aggiunga, che molte volte i politici sconvolgimenti, e le guerre hanno per molti anni frastornate le spedizioni, ed in fine, di quei pochi, che vi arrivano, alcuni sulle prime sono resi inabili a servire dall' inclemenza del clima, ed altri presto sono dalla morte mietuti; in modo che la nostra Missione fù, ed è sempre in penuria di soggetti. E poi essendo la nostra Missione veramente Capuccina cioè, povera, destituta di certi mezzi di sussistenza, ma solo dipendente dalla provvidenza, e carità dei fedeli, che per la maggior parte sono miserabili, cui piuttosto si deve somministrare, un abbondante numero di operaj non troverebbe la maniera di sussistere. Le quali cose premesse, per se stessa scorre la risposta al quarto quesito di V. S. Illma, se vi furono, e sono fatti molti proseliti? Ah! Signore la raccolta corrisponde alla coltura, e se il terreno è così ingrato, che neppure alla coltura corrisponda, allora, che si può concludere? se non che poco, e poco di buono si è fatto. Io non sono di quelli, che per far nome ai proprj travagli, o a quelli dei suoi socj, sappia fare apparire camelo una pulce. Dai pochi Missionarj si è sempre fatto ciò che si è potuto in tanto grande estensione di paese. Siamo stati sempre guardinghi dall' empire la rete di pesci inutili, e nocivi, pochi Christiani sono fatti, ma questi più dal gentilesimo, che dal Maomettismo. Potrebbe il loro numero essere maggiore, ed anche di molto miglior condotta, se la peste del mal' esempio degli Europei non avesse rotto ogni argine alla corruzione dell' uman cuore. Questa gente dev' essere sempre tenuta a vista, e regolata in virga ferrea, allora il Missionario può sperare di piantare tra di loro i costumi Christiani, ed estirparvi i gentileschi. Il solo chiaccherare dalla Cattedra, e leggere loro libri è come pestare l' acqua nel mortajo, *et fricare labia asino*. Con tutto ciò procuriamo di tenere fermo il piede al nostro posto aspettando quei momenti di misericordia, ch' il Padre Celeste ha preordinato *ab aeterno* in favore di questi disgraziati popoli. La via della persuasione, e convincimento poco serve con queste genti, che senza avere ricevute lezioni dai famosi Maestri dell' indifferetismo, per loro natura sono in materia di religione indifferetissimi: facilmente consentono essere la religione Cristiana buona ed ottima, ma non esclusivamente, secondo essi tutte le religioni sono buone. E così i nostri convertiti sono piuttosto convertiti di casualità, che di predicazione. Ordinariamente l' aspetto di migliorare di condizione, e di accomodarsi inducono costoro a ricercare la nostra S. Religione. Ed il mirabile si è, che all' ora senza saperne di essa nè punto nè poco, sono così della sua verità persuasi, che nè Celso, o Porfirio sarebbero capaci di dissuadermeli. Ma dopo esservi stati arruolati (premesse le debite istruzioni), continuano nella loro indolente indifferenza. Sono veri fanciulli, e pusilli, e se poi loro manca l' assistenza dell' Evangelico Ministro, non resta loro ap-

pena ch' il nome di Cristiano. Gravissimo cordoglio soffre per questo il mio cuore, e principalmente nei tempi presenti, nei quali se loro non accomoda l' osservanza delle nostre leggi, trovano aperte molte strade nelle congregazioni di differente credenza per aggiustare indipendentemente do noi i fatti loro, e tanto ad essi basta.

All' ultima richiesta di V. S. Illma, che è di mandarle alcuni libri, devo dirle, ch' in questa parte sono molto ristretto, nulla di meno mi fo un dovere di farle ricapitare per via del Signor Maggiore Turner un' opera dogmatica latina, la quale ancorchè non sia per una persona già negli studj teologici consumata, non mancherà pella sua chiarezza, ed imparzialità nelle materie puramente adiafore di piacerle. Vi aggiungo un' opera in Francese, il cui originale è spagnolo, ed in caso che non l' abbia ancora letta, sono persuaso che la troverà più che stimabile. Essa è una confutazione della moderna filosofia di tutto nuovo conio, anzi è un ben ordinato trattato di teologia naturale rivelata. Però l' opera latina la troverà piena e zeppa di errori di stampa, V. S. bisognerà, ch' abbia pazienza. Amendue le opere potrà rimettermele a tutto suo comodo. In fine io le sarei infinitamente tenuto se V. S. Illma volesse ringraziarmi di presentare i miei più profondi rispetti a Milord, e Miledi Bentinck, assicurandoli, che delle loro compitezze, e buone grazie verso di me usate ed in Agra, ed in Cownpoure ne terrò sempre un' indelebile ricordanza, e non mancherò, indegno qual sono, di pregare sempre l' Altissimo pella spirituale, e temporale prosperità delle Eccellenze loro. Questi stessi, stessimi sentimenti io nutro a riguardo di V. S. Illma di cui sinceramente mi professo di essere

Ubbmo ed Umilmo servo, .

Fr. A. PEZZONI Vescovo d' Esbonen  
e Vic. Apostolico.

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE LETTER.

Sir,

Your letter to me of the 12th instant has greatly honoured me. I am surprised to learn, that you have heard of my kindness and generosity, and cannot imagine how there should exist any person that thinks about me, leading as I do, a retired life. Since, however, you say it is so, I cannot attribute this to any merit of mine, but to public generosity. Your being a dissenter from the Roman Catholic Church, does not prevent me from bearing towards you the respect justly due to your merits, nor from flattering myself that I am worthy to receive your commands, in compliance with which I reply to your queries as follows.

To the 1st and 2nd query I have to state, that our mission is to be considered both as a Hindoostaun mission and as a Tibetan mission. As a Hindoostaun mission, the Catholic religion was formerly introduced in Pagim, or Eastern part of Hindoostaun by the Jesuits, then residing there at the college of Goa, with the consent of the grand Emperor Akbar, in consequence of the promise made to them by a certain Lady Juliana of Goa, who was at that time



living in the seraglio of the said Emperor. On the suppression of the order of the Jesuits, the Carmelitani friars by superior orders, and under the direction of the Apostolic Vicar residing at Bombay, took charge of this mission. A short time afterwards, those friars being unable to provide Missionaries for this object out of their own order, in the year 1784, the mission was by a decree given in charge of the Capuchin friars, who under the title of Missionaries of Tibet, had established their mission near Parub, under the direction of a Prefect residing in Patna; and thus out of the two missions, only one was formed, and given in charge to the Capuchin friars, under the immediate orders of one sole Prefect, who, up to the present day, continues in charge thereof. With what I have related, you will find also answered your 7th query.

As to the time, however, when the Capuchin friars began their Tibetan mission, it is worth remarking, that such mission is posterior to that of Hindoostan, as the Capuchins were for the first time sent to Tibet under the reign of Clement XI. in the year 1704, under the orders of the Right Rev. Father Joseph of Ascoli, who was appointed their Superior and Prefect. They remained there until the year 1745, when they were obliged to retire and abandon those few whom they had converted to Christianity, and whom they were not allowed to take with them from Tibet. They accordingly quitted Tibet, and fixed their residence at Nepal, where they erected three churches in three different cities, i. e. Katmanda, Patan, and Batgoo, for the use of the new Christians of Nepal. They found the government of that place to be of a most strange and despotic character; the new Christians were exposed to continual vexations, and they were obliged to ask leave to quit that place, taking along with them all their proselytes, which was granted. These new Christians were then settled in a village, called Chohooree, two miles distant from Bettiah, which, together with some lands, had been graciously given by the Honourable East India Company. Since then, i. e. since the year 1765 to 1770, the Prefect of the mission had fixed his residence in Patna. The last Prefect of this mission was the Right Rev. Father Angelo da Caraglio, who resigned on the arrival at Agra in 1824 of the first Apostolic Vicar Monsignor Zenobio M. Capuchin, Bishop of Thermien, who died at Agra two months after his arrival there, i. e. on the 23d June, 1824. Father Antonino, a Capuchin, who about this time went to his native country, and retired to his convent, where he intended to spend the rest of his life, after a mission of 20 years abroad, has unexpectedly received orders to depart for the Indies (to perform a penitence for his sins), in order to fill the office of Prefect and Apostolic Vicar, vacant by the death of the above mentioned Bishop. He was accordingly consecrated at Rome as Bishop of Esbonen, and sent to this place, where he arrived in the year 1827, on the 15th March, and fixed his residence at Agra, in order to be of use to the Christians residing here and in its vicinity, to the Roman Catholic Irish stationed here, and to all the mission generally from East to West. You are thus,

therefore, informed of the name of the Chief or Superior of this Tibet-Hindoostaun mission.

In reply to your 3d, 6th and 7th queries, I beg to state, that the Catholic Churches actually belonging to our mission are the following, viz. The Church of Agra, presided over by your humble servant F. Antonino Pezzoni, Bishop of Esbonen, Apostolic Vicar, and Prefect. The Church of Sardanah, erected by the Rev. Father Giulio Cesare of Caravaggio. The Churches of Cownpore and Lucknow, served by our Vicar General the Right Rev. Adeodato of Perugia Capuchin. The Churches of Bettiah and Choochooree, under the direction of the Rev. Father Gioacchino. The Churches of Chunargurh, Patna, Bhaglpoure and Pernea, given in charge to the Rev. Father Giuliano Capuchin. In Chandernagor we have also a Church, and a hospital for invalid monks, and for the protection of missionaries on their way to or from Europe; at this moment, the Rev. Father Ippolito of Genoa is at this hospital, who, owing to his impaired state of health, is about returning to Europe. I, poor man, find myself deprived of every support to modify the discord of this mission. You ought, however, to be informed, that our Cure is limited to Hindoostaun, and consequently the missions of the Portuguese and French friars do not interfere with me. The Churches they possessed, are either demolished or abandoned.

You state in your 5th query that you believe a sufficient number of Missionaries are not sent for the support of the mission. The Holy Congregation of the Propaganda, to which all our missions are subject, have never failed to provide whatever is necessary for the support thereof; but you must be aware, that they cannot order nor send any persons out here for the service of the mission, but such as voluntarily wish to go, and the number of those being very limited, they are often at a loss how to supply the required number of Missionaries. Add to this, that political affairs and wars have for many years prevented expeditions of Missionaries taking place; and lastly, some of those who come here, are soon rendered unable to attend to their duties, owing to the unhealthy climate; and others soon after their arrival, owing to the same cause, die; so that our mission was, and still is, in want of attendants. Besides its being a mission of Capuchins, i. e. Poor, it is deprived of the means of subsistence, depending entirely upon the bounty and charity of their people, who are generally miserable, and often themselves standing in need of assistance; thus a competent number of friars, if sent, would not find means to subsist.

In reply to your 4th query, "Whether we had, or have made, many proselytes?" I beg to state it as a maxim, that the crop corresponds to the culture, and should the lands be so unfruitful as not even to correspond to the culture, what is to be concluded? that little or nothing has been done. I am not like those of your party, who, to shew the efficiency of their endeavours, would state the thing differently from what it really is. Our few Missionaries

have always done all in their power, considering the extension of this place. We always took the greatest care not to catch in our net useless and hurtful fish; few Christians have been made of the Heathens, and much less of the Mohammedans. Their number would have been greater, and they would have been of better conduct, had not the bad example of the Europeans corrupted their hearts. This people ought to be taken care of, and ruled in a rather severe manner; in this way only the Missionary may hope to succeed. The prattling on the pulpit, or reading books to them, I consider entirely useless. We do however patiently await the time of mercy, predetermined by our Heavenly Father "ab aeterno," in favour of this unfortunate people. By persuasion and conviction nothing can be done, they being in nature very indifferent in matters of religion: they are easily persuaded that the Christian religion is perfectly good; according to them, all religions are good. Our proselytes, therefore, have rather become so by casualty, than through preaching. In ordinary cases, the hope of bettering their condition induces them to become converts to Christianity. It is most extraordinary to observe, that when quite ignorant of it, they may profess to be so fully persuaded of its truth, that neither Celsus nor Porphyry would be able to dissuade them; yet when they are enlisted amongst our proselytes, and duly instructed by us, they continue in their indolent indifference. They are like little children; and should the assistance of the Evangelical Minister cease, the name only of Christian would remain with them. Great grief do I suffer on that account, and much more so at the present time, when, if they do not like to submit to our laws, they can find Missionaries of a different belief, and be able to arrange their matters without asking our assistance.

With regard to your request for some books, (though at this period they are very scarce) I do however take advantage of this opportunity of Major Turner, to send you a doctrinal work in Latin, which, being clear and treating impartially on different matters, I hope will please you; as well as a French work, translated from the Spanish, which, if you have not read, you will also find estimable; it is a confutation of modern philosophy in a new style, and treats also on natural theology. Both these works you will be pleased to return when convenient. In conclusion, I should feel extremely grateful to you, if you would have the kindness to present my most respectful regards to Lord and Lady Bentineck, assuring them that their politeness and many favours bestowed on me during my stay at Agra, and at Cownpore, shall ever remain engraved on my heart, and that I shall not fail, unworthy as I am, to pray to the Almighty for their spiritual and temporal prosperity.

These same, very same sentiments I entertain for your respectable person, and sincerely remain,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

FR. A. PEZZONI,  
Bishop of Esbonen, and Apostolic Vicar.

## JOURNEY TO CASHMEER.

Lord William Bentinck had kindly written to Capt. Wade to request that he would write to Runjeet Singh to give me permission to go to Cashmeer, and from thence to Tibet. I waited at Simlah above forty days for an answer, but in vain. I therefore determined to go to Calcutta by way of Kurnaul; for I had received a kind invitation from the Rev. Mr. Parish, Chaplain in Kurnaul, to go there, and preach and lecture in his chapel.

*August 28.*—I left the house of Lord and Lady William Bentinck. His Lordship had previously furnished me with a letter of credit. Never shall I forget the parental kindness and care I experienced from both Lord and Lady William Bentinck, and the kindness of his Lordship's Staff; nor the kindness I received from Colonel and Mrs. Churchill, Lady and Sir Jeremiah Bryant, Sir Edward and Lady Barnes, and all the inhabitants of Simlah and Sabathoo.

On the *29th August* I arrived for the third time in the house of Sir Jeremiah Bryant at Sabathoo, and in the afternoon I set out for Kurnaul. Scarcely had I gone four miles, when an express messenger from Lord William Bentinck brought me the good tidings, that His Majesty Runjeet Singh, King of the Punjaub and Cashmeer, had graciously granted me permission to go to the city of Cashmeer; a kind letter addressed to me by Runjeet Singh himself, accompanied the above mentioned tidings.

On the *30th of August*, I arrived at Umballa; here I spent a few hours with the excellent Doctor Laughton, and went on to Kurnaul, where I arrived on the *31st*. This is a considerable station; I took up my abode with the Rev. Mr. Parish, Chaplain of the Established Church, who kindly received me, and introduced me to the ladies and officers of the station.

On the *2nd Sept.* I preached twice in the church, on Hebrews x. 1—7, and Rev. i. 7; from the first, shewing the office, and from the second, declaring the coming of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ.

*Sept. 6.*—I arrived again at Sabathoo, at the house of Sir Jeremiah Bryant.

*Sept. 8.*—I received the following letter from Lord William Bentinck.

*Simlah, September 7, 1832.*

My dear sir,

Many thanks for your good prayers and kind wishes for our temporal and eternal happiness. You have appeared among us but for a moment, sufficiently long however, to make us very much regret your early departure. I almost regret your having got permission to pass through Cashmeer. Having come within the threshold of India, it is a pity, I think, that you have not taken the opportunity of visiting the early settlements of Christians in India, whose history forms so important a link in the investigation you are making. Cashmeer you might have examined en passant; but I would not have gone North of the Himmalayahs; all those



countries can be better visited, I mean with better chance of security and success, from Russia, from whence there is a more constant communication than from India, from whence there is little or none. It can never be worth while to return to India for any objects which you have in view. I would have gone round by Madrass, the Malabar coast, and Bombay, and thence by the steamer to Egypt. The countries East of Russia would have been sufficient for another expedition; your usefulness, happiness, and indeed your ambition, must ever engage you in Missionary pursuits; it will be difficult for you to dismount from your own particular hobby. With your activity and disregard for all dangers and difficulties, the world, as I once told you, is almost too limited to satisfy your enterprising spirit; but the successful accomplishments of your excellent views, will very much depend upon the judicious distribution of the great field of enquiry. But you die for the present seems to be cast, and therefore, I have only to bid you a cordial farewell, and to add a request that you will write as often as opportunity offers.

Ever sincerely yours,

(Signed)

W. C. BENTINCK.

After having received several letters from Mr. Parish, the Chaplain of Kurnaul, Mrs. Burgh, Col. Webber, and Capt. Mathews of Kurnaul; and after Sooret Singh, an officer of Runjeet Singh, had arrived with six soldiers to escort me to Cashmeer, and the frontier of Tibet, I began to climb up higher the craggy mountains of the Himalayah. I set out for my journey on

*Sept. 14.*—Sir Jeremiah and Lady Bryant accompanied me to some distance, and then took leave. We travelled to Seraj Kotah, 14 Coss, or about 21 English miles from Sabathoo. The country round Sabathoo, and all the way to Seraj Kotah, is most romantic; it may be styled the Switzerland of Hindoostan. The village of Seraj Kotah is inhabited by people of the cast called Khatere; they had just celebrated a feast by dancing near the temple of an idol.

*Sept. 15.*—Fifteen Coss, or 22 and a half Eng. miles to Belaspoor. This place is governed by a young man who has the title of Rajah. He was kind to me, but he is a great tyrant; it is said, that his great delight is to have an ass trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. He desired me to give him some brandy, instead of which I gave him soda water. He was greatly astonished at the noise on drawing the cork, and tried to think it was some spirit; but he did not seem to like it much.

*Sept. 16.*—We travelled nine Coss or 15 miles to Deher; as they are afraid here of being invaded by Runjeet Singh, the Rajah of Sokhet, who resides 11 miles from Deher, had ordered that nobody should be suffered to pass without his previous knowledge; and we were detained till the 18th, when we went on 11 miles to Soojpoor. Bukerreim Sein, the Rajah, an old man, was sitting outside of the town, surrounded by many Hindoos, smoking an Indian hookah; he was so polite as to salute me, and ask me to sit

down by him; I sat near him for half an hour, but we did not talk much, as he was a stupid old man.

*Sept. 19.*—The Rajah lent me two horses, on which we rode seven Coss to Mandee. The Rajah of this place, being in rebellion against Runjeet Singh, to whom he is tributary, did not receive us very kindly; however, he sent us a tent to sleep in. At this place, a lad fifteen years of age, dressed in English clothes, came to me begging; he said he was the son of an English soldier, named O'Brien, and of a Mussulman woman; but that they were both dead, and he was left destitute. I asked him of what religion he was; he replied, that he had not been instructed in any religion. Poor boy! I wrote concerning him to the English at Simlah and Sabathoo. Thus a father abandons his child upon the mountains of the Himmalayah, like an ostrich her young ones.

On the 21st we rode 21 miles to Hatle, and on the next day 14 miles to Mahalmour, a village inhabited by Brahmins.

*Sept. 23.*—Twelve Coss to Futtehpore; on the road we saw a beautiful building called Naun, inhabited by a Dervish.

*Sept. 24.*—Four and a half miles to Nadown, which is a considerable town, inhabited by many Cashmeer colonists, built close to the river Beyah, the Hyphasis of the ancients. The Rajah Tshowdwer Singh sent his horse for me, and treated me very kindly. I found him in the field on horseback, surrounded by his soldiers, and just going to perform his devotions to three Fakeers, who were sitting naked in the hole of a rock on the shore of the river Beyah. Servants were carrying his hookah (pipe) before him, whilst he was smoking. The Fakeers desired me to sit down, but not to come too near them, and presently we had the following conversation: *Myself.* "Do you understand Persian?" *Fakeer Ramjee* said to Hunooman his servant: "How do you know me?" Hunooman replied: "One way is this, I am your servant; 2nd. I and you are one; 3d. I love you very cordially." Then the Fakeer continued, "He that knows God, knows every thing." *Myself.* "Of what cast are you?" *Fakeer.* "Of none."

I then proclaimed to him our Lord Jesus Christ, and asked him, how many years he had been a Fakeer. He replied that he had always lived in God, and should never die; for that, as old garments were exchanged for better, so the man of God lays aside his old body, and puts on a new one. A beautiful answer! But there was in the man an overbearing pride; and a peevishness that ill assorted with his speech; frequently when I wished to say something, he would exclaim, "Be silent and listen!" However, I found an opportunity of declaring to him, that 'there is only one name given under heaven by which men can be saved;' even the name of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, God blessed for ever.

This unhappy peevishness exists more or less in all those who live in a continual mortification of their bodies; even the great St. Jerome was not free from it; therefore he said of himself, that he was every where carrying about the old St. Jerome with him. True peace of mind dwells not in the cold seclusion of a cave.

That joy, passing understanding, which the world cannot give, is yet to be obtained in the world, by those, who, renewed by the Holy Spirit, go actively about to do good to his fellow creatures; shewing the wonderful things of God, and preaching the glad tidings of the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world: either as Missionaries abroad, or as faithful servants in that circle, within which God's providence has placed them: the Monarch on his throne, and the poor man in his cottage, if they but love Christ, and live in Him, may alike feel that peace of mind, and "rejoice in the hope of the glory of God."

*Sept. 25.*—Jawalajee. Having heard that a miraculous fire came out of the earth at this place, I went to see it. Thousands of Hindoos, and even Mussulmans, come here in pilgrimage; and I met English Sipahes, i. e. soldiers, who had been to pay their devotions. When I came near the spot whence the fire issues, the Hindoos desired me first to put off my shoes; but this my conscience did not permit, and therefore my curiosity was not satisfied. From hence we proceeded on to Kabla, which is about seven Coss distant from Nadown.

*Sept. 26.*—We travelled three Coss to Hurrepoor, and eight Coss more to Hazaar. I lodged with a Brahmin, who was very careful not to let me go near the place where he cooked his victuals; here I preached the Gospel to a few Mussulmans.

*Sept. 28.*—Two Coss from Hazaar to Noorpoor, a town which is inhabited by Hindoos and Mussulmans. Futteh Singh, the Kotwal (Mayor) received me with great civility. Here were several merchants who were going to Ladak in Tibet.

#### HINDOO RELIGION.

Being in the land of Hindoostaun, and surrounded by such Sanscrit scholars as Carey, Wilson, Marshman and Mill, I am almost afraid to attempt any description of this great nation, especially as I am myself ignorant of the Sanscrit language. However, I will endeavour to state faithfully what I have learnt from different Brahmins about their religion, and should I have been misinformed, or should I have drawn false conclusions from the information I received, I shall be most truly obliged to the above mentioned masters for correcting me.

I owe the following information to two Brahmins. To the one, named Dobnoo Shah, I presented a Hindoostanee New Testament. The other, Jouala Rena, was an old and venerable Brahmin, who had been at Calcutta some time.

Brahma was created by God before the world existed, and by Brahma the world was created. Vishnoo is the Preserver, Sheef is the Destroyer; and these three are one.\* They asked me what religion I professed; to which I replied, "God is one, and Jesus is the Son of God. This Jesus died for our sins, and rose again,

\* I received a more enlarged account concerning Brahmah when at Cashmeer, but I give my information according to the time at which I obtained it.

and he shall come again, and reign upon earth 1000 years, when all nations shall believe in him, and worship him."

*Jouala Rena.* To what quarter do you turn your face when you are praying?

*Myself.* Towards the East, and the West, and the North, and the South; for God is from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.

*J. R.* The unlearned Hindoo turns his face towards the East; for the Ganges, Juggurnuth, Batra and Kashee (Benares) are toward the East; but he that is learned does as you do.

*M.* Why do you worship idols?

*J. R.* He that can realize in his heart the idea of God, does not worship idols; but the unlearned remember God by means of an idol.

*M.* But I have heard Hindoos declare, that the stone called Salgram was God.

*J. R.* (Pointing to a piece of wood) This is God; for you cannot look at any thing where God is not; in which the power of God is not visible.

*M.* God is every where, but every thing is not God. You may as well say, that this couch is man, for it was made by the power of man, and the power of man is visible in it.

*J. R.* You yourself have images; for you have a book which is an image of the thoughts of God.\*

*M.* This image was given by God; but we do not worship God through the Bible, neither do we say that the book is God, on account of its containing the oracles of God.

*J. R.* The Chinese have images.

*M.* They are wrong.

*Dobnoo Shah.* There are many roads to Lahore; one is by the way of Buttaankot, another by Kishtewar, and another by Cashmeer. Thus there are many ways to God, and all will come to God who pursue a certain road.

*M.* But there are some roads to Lahore very dangerous; and there are some roads to God, especially those which He has not prescribed, very dangerous.†

*J. R.* By what mark can a man know the good road?

*M.* By its fruits may the good tree be known. The Christians in Hindoostaun have abolished tyranny, and the burning of women.

*J. R.* The Lord Sahib (Governor General) has done a good thing in abolishing the Suttee, and it is true that tyranny does not exist among Christians.

I then spoke with them about the internal evidences of Christianity, how it fills the heart with holy love and adoration to God, and universal benevolence towards mankind, constraining them to

\* It is very remarkable, that the same argument of a book being an image, was brought forward against the Reformers by Bossuet, in his interesting "Histoire de la variation de la Reformation."

† A lady of great piety at Calcutta, gave a still better answer; i. e. that one cannot reach Lahore, if he turns his back to it.



go from sea to sea, and from shore to shore, for the good of their fellow creatures. May the one true God bless the labours of his servants, and in his own good season, turn the hearts of all nations to the knowledge of Christ their Saviour!\*

*Sept. 29.*—Ten Coss to Buttaankôt, a place formerly colonized by Affghauns, whence the name from the Hindoostanee word Puthan, by which the Affghauns are distinguished in India.

*Sept. 30.*—Seven Coss to Kotowa.

*Oct. 1.*—I arrived at Khanpoor. Here I saw a Brahmin reading a book, and asked him what it was. He replied, "A portion of the Shaster" (Holy book). I looked into it; it was the Gospel of St. Luke in Nagree, printed at Serampore. In this way, one can see the use of Bible and Missionary Societies, more than by individual conversions; for in the latter, it is often merely external *show*, whilst in the former instance one sees the manifest effect upon the human mind; for, what worldly advantage could the Brahmin of Khanpoor have expected from reading the word of God with his disciples in a place where the British nation does not govern? In the "Lettres Edifiantes" many striking instances are related of Chinese idolaters converted to Christianity, by the loan of books, and thus in fact becoming Christians, as it were, unconsciously, without the assistance or benefit of oral instructors, or ceremonial admission into the Church; as Apollos, who knew only of the baptism of John.

*Oct. 2.*—We marched on to Allee, where a Mussulman desired me to read some part of the Persian Gospel to him. I read Matthew v. vi. vii. The same day we reached Samba, a place 13 Coss distant from Khanpoor, inhabited by Hindoos, and fugitives of Cashmeer.

*Oct. 3.*—We arrived at Burmandel, where there is a beautiful temple containing an idol of Sheef, or as some Hindoos say, of Baba Adam. We alighted at the house of some Indian Fakeers. One of these had formerly been a merchant; he said he had travelled to Calcutta, and knew Lord Lake. It is to be observed, that the Hindoos called themselves Bootpurustian (Idolaters).

I met with a kind of gypsies on the road to Jummoo; they are called Bazeeguran; nobody knows from whence they came: they are players, and never live in villages. They marry among themselves, and profess the Mohammedan religion. In the evening of the 3d we arrived at Santi, distant eight miles from Burmandel.

*Oct. 4.*—Six Coss to Jummoo, a considerable town belonging to the Sirdar Goolab Singh Rajah, whose Vizier, by the order of Runjeet Singh, sent me a zeafut (complimentary present) of 100 rupees. This day I remained at Jummoo, and the son of the Rajah (his father was at Umritsir) called upon me. He brought a large pot of boiled pork as a present for me. An English deserter named Potter, is in the service of Goolab Singh: he was engaged in teaching the young Rajah the English language.

\* The more I converse with the Hindoos, the more I perceive the difficulty of convincing them of the absurdity of idolatry.

*Oct. 6.*—Ten Coss to Akhnor.

*Oct. 7.*—Fourteen Coss to Barek, a spot inclosed by the mountains called Sankar.

*Oct. 8.*—Nine Coss to Brohe, which is inhabited by Rajpoot Mussulmans, or converted Hindoos, who attain the name Rajpoot, to show their descent. On the road to Brohe we passed some Fakeers sitting naked on the road. Their whole bodies and faces were coloured blue. My palankeen-bearers saluted them in the Indian fashion by exclaiming, “Maharajah jee! Seeta Ram!” (Hail my Lord! for the name of Seeta the wife of Ram.) When will the time come, that the Hindoos shall salute the Lord Jesus Christ with the exclamation of, “Maharajah jee!” (Hail my Lord!)

#### ARRIVAL OF RAJOUR.

*Oct. 10.*—I arrived at Rajour, or Rajahwar, governed by Raheem Oollah, a Mussulman, in whose family the title of Rajah is hereditary; he is however completely under Runjeet Singh. Raheem Oollah is the most intelligent and learned Rajah I have hitherto met with; he likes Europeans, and spoke of Monsieur Jacquemont the French naturalist, and of Mr. Morecroft, with great regard. He hinted that the whole country throughout the Himmalayah mountains sighed for English government. From Raheem Oollah I learned that Cashmeer has been three times destroyed: twice by earthquakes, and once by inundation. Cashmeer was formerly called Seree Nagar, and Nagur Nagar. There is a book called, “Rajah Tarang,” written in the Cashmeer language, which gives the history of Cashmeer from its foundation to the Government by Rajahs.

Sein-ul-Aubedeem was the first Mussulman King of Cashmeer. He had 30,000 soldiers. Moulavie Kheir Addeen has written the history of Cashmeer, from the time of Ahmud Shah to its conquest by Runjeet Singh. On my way to Rajour I met thousands of Cashmerian emigrants, poor women carrying their children on their heads. On my asking them why they had left Cashmeer, they answered, “On account of tyranny.” The cry of Hindoos and Mussulmans is one in this respect. *Monshee Djiaram*, a Brahmin of most intelligent mind, gave me a sorrowful description of the oppression, not of Sheer Singh himself, but of his Dewan, or Prime Minister, named Vesaka Singh; even Brahmins, he said, were sometimes put to death, and many of them beaten and plundered, or left to pine in prison.

#### HINDOO RELIGION.

*Monshee Djiaram* addressed me in the following manner: “You ought to try to read our Veds (sacred books). Adam, who you call the first man, was only of yesterday: the world was created and peopled millions and millions of years before Adam. You reproach us with worshipping stone: but there is no truth in the assertion that we believe it to be God: we worship a stone as we

worship a plant, because the power of God is seen in both; we worship the cow, for God has displayed his power in her; she provides men with milk; we worship good men, for God displays his power in them by making them good." I am daily more convinced how correctly the great Maimonides described the origin of idolatry in his book entitled, *Môre Naboochim*, that idolatry originally did not consist in believing the very creature to be God, but in worshipping the invisible Creator through a visible image.

The Rajah of Rajour, Monshee Djaram, and a Mohammedan Mullah, desired me to procure them Persian New Testaments; (for at Rajour they speak Persian;) I therefore petitioned the Calcutta Bible Society to send a dozen Persian Testaments to the Rajah of Rajour.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of Oct. we left Rajour and travelled eight coss to Tana. On the road there are several cottages with adjoining rose gardens, inhabited by Mussulman Fakeers. I stopt a moment at the cottage of one of these hermits, who had a boy as his disciple (Mooreed), which reminded me of Elijah and his disciple Elisha. God forbid that I should compare these vagabonds, living in the mountains of Cashmeer, with those inspired men, more than as relating to the outward form; but Elisha living upon Mount Carmel was present to my mind. We travelled on from Tana, and by evening had ascended and descended a mountain, called Peer Punjaal, and reached a place distant five coss from Tana, called Beiram-Kala, where we rested the night.

Oct. 12.—Four coss to Poshyanah. The Chief of the village made objections to my proceeding on to Cashmeer; but he desisted when I threatened to have him punished by Runjeet Singh.

Oct. 13.—We passed the dangerous mountain of Peer Punjaal; here it frequently happens that a storm of snow covers the traveller in a moment, and many persons have thus perished. We arrived safely at Hurpoor, distant fourteen coss from Poshyanah. Sheer Singh (the adopted son of Runjeet Singh, and the Prince Governor of Cashmeer) sent an officer with several soldiers to guide me safely to the valley. The officer made me a present of several bags of sugar.

Oct. 14. Travelling on three miles from Hurpoor, we found ourselves suddenly in a beautiful valley, the commencement of the territory of Cashmeer: a mile and a half further on, we came to the small town of Shobeyan, where I remained the day. Here another man from the Prince Governor came to welcome me in the name of His Royal Highness.

Oct. 15.—We travelled to Dobo Gah, 4 coss from Shobeyan, to this place; Sheer Singh sent another of his officers with 15 soldiers to welcome me: for the *Abar Nowees*, or native newspaper, had a month before given notice of my coming.

#### ARRIVAL IN THE CITY OF CASHMEER.

Oct. 16.—We left Dobo Gah in the morning, and after a day's journey of 12 coss, or 18 E. m., arrived at the city of Cashmeer.

How sadly one is disappointed in approaching this celebrated city, to which, according to a saying commonly received here, Solomon did fly, carried in the air by one of the Genii....Instead of the splendid palaces, described so enchantingly by the poets, one sees only ruined and miserable cottages; instead of the far-famed beauties of Cashmeer, one meets with the most ugly half starved, blind, and dirty looking females; and the road is covered with females, who assure strangers that the fame of his liberality and munificence has reached Cashmeer many months ago.

The river Jelum runs through the city, dividing it into two principal parts, which are connected together by seven bridges, or, as they are called in the Cashmeer language, Gadal. The people go from one street to another in little boats, which are there in great numbers; for victuals, and all necessary things are brought by boats: but these cannot be compared to the beautiful Gondolas of Venice. The curious inquirer will in vain seek here for traces of what the great Gotfried von Herder supposed was the garden of Eden; and what is more surprising, in vain will the traveller look here for large shawl shops, or shawl manufactories; in vain for splendid mosques and minarets; all is in ruins. Bokhara is not so large as Cashmeer, but one is not disappointed with the first appearance of Bokhara.

As only a few Europeans have seen this town, I have taken more pains than I usually do, to describe it; and as it may be interesting to some, I mention the principal streets and bridges. *Sheer-Kere* is the street in which the Prince Governor resides: but it is not distinguished by beauty or cleanliness from the rest; for it is not the custom with Oriental Princes to improve the streets in which they reside. *Kullah Akber*: here the kings of the dynasty of Jogathay, the descendants of Timour Lung, had their palace, which is now totally in ruins. I counted 52 large streets, which it would be too tedious to enumerate; I shall therefore confine myself to the mention of seven large bridges, which connect together the Eastern and Western parts of the city:

Imra Gadal, Habba Gadal, Futteh Gadal, Sena Gadal, Ali Gadal, Now Gadal, Seif Gadal.

The whole city may contain 250,000 inhabitants; but if the emigration continues for one year at the same rate as at present, there will not remain 50,000 inhabitants in Cashmeer. It is enormous, fifty thousand have emigrated in less than three months!

On my entering Cashmeer, the soldiers, who are dressed in European costume, and disciplined after the European system, presented arms, and fifty guns were fired as a salute, by order of the Prince; a well furnished house was assigned to me, and a guard placed at my door; soon after my arrival, Sheer Singh, according to instructions from Runjeet Singh, sent me 700 rupees, 30 pots of sweet-meats, and six bottles of sweet brandy.

The first moment of my arrival I asked the names of the learned Mullahs, and the following list was given me. Mullah Rafeek, Ahmud Shah, Moulavie Kheir-Addeen, the author of the history of



Cashmeer; Gholam Shah, Noor Baba Saheb, Mirza Ahmud, another writer of the history of Cashmeer; Mullah Jemaal-Addeen, Mullah Emir-Addeen, Mullah Abd-ool Kooddoos, Mullah Mohammed Shah.

On the 17th Oct. I was introduced to His Royal Highness Sheer Singh. On my entering the palace, the soldiers presented arms, and a salute was fired, as for a Governor General. Sheer Singh received me in the most familiar and kind manner; asked me to sit at his right hand, and put my hands on his knees. His room was so filled with glass and silver dishes, and chandeliers, that it looked like one of the large shops in Oxford Street. The Prince introduced me to three Pundits (learned men): they were Brahmins, and their names were Sadram Raasdan Saheb, Beydeadar, and Ganadar Pundit. They told me that Brahma was born of a water-lily. I declared to them my faith, and spoke to them about the sin of idolatry.

His Royal Highness desired me to send him four things from India. 1st. a Persian Testament. 2nd. an English and French teacher (he has already begun to learn French from Messrs. Allard and Ventura, and can sign his name in French;) 3d. an English cook; and 4th. a person to keep plates and spoons in order, according to the English manner. He showed me a fine manuscript, "History of Cashmeer," written by Khojah Mohammed Hashem. He told me that he was very anxious to see Calcutta, and the Lord Saheb, and the Lady Saheb, i. e. Lord and Lady William Bentinck.

I then called on *Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande*, who is of the family of the Arabian pseudo prophet, and descended from the ancient royal house of Tashkand, whose ancestors, in the early years of the Hegira, came to Toorkestaun. He is immediately descended from Khojah Shah Neas, the son of Khojah Abdool Raheem Nakhshbande,\* who thrice performed pilgrimage from Toorkestaun to Delhi and Mecca, and finally, at the advice of his pious Moor-sheed, spent the rest of his days in Cashmeer. Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande is a great friend to Europeans, and was very kind to me. He speaks the Tartar as well as the Persian language. He is revered as a holy man by all the Mussulmans of Toorkestaun, who send him money: the great men are his Moreeds, or disciples, and there are continually 2 or 300 people from this country in his house. There I met with three young Mullahs from Yarkand, who were on a pilgrimage to Mecca; for when last year the cholera raged at Yarkand, daily carrying off thousands of the Khetaj (Chinese) and Oosbeks, the mother of these young men said to them, "Now God the Lord of all creatures has preserved you from this evil; go therefore to the tomb of the Prophet, and offer up your vows of thanksgiving." They called the chief Mullah to the house; and when he had read aloud the preface of the Koran, they stroked down their beards, according to the ancient custom of the Oosbeks;

\* The Nakhshbande family are the authors of a sect of Sunnee Sooffees.

and saying to their mother, "Khoda Hafiz!" (God preserve you!) they set out for Ladak, and arrived there with a caravan in twenty days, visiting three places of pilgrimage on the way: Altoon Buzurk, four and a half miles from Yorkand; Tushtuk Orta, four and a half miles; and Kolkaja, four and a half miles further on the way.

At Ladak they were received into the house of a Cashmeer merchant, for whom they had a letter. They remained with him nine days, and then travelled on to Cashmeer, where they arrived after a journey of 20 days. On their arrival they sought out their Moorsheed, Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande; and they had been nearly five months in his house, when I met them there. I invited them to travel with me as far as Delhi, on their way to Mecca, which proposal was received with expressions of joy by Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande, and themselves. To give you an idea of the learning of these youths, I will mention that one knew the Korân, and the second a book called Secunder Nameh, or the life of Alexander the Great, written in Persian. It was chiefly from them that I obtained my information about Yarkand, which therefore I shall state here.

#### YARKAND.

Near Yarkand is the most considerable town of Akso. The other neighbouring cities are, Kashgar, Yeng Hazar, Kojo, Eele, Kara, Torban, and Komol. The city of Khotan is twelve days' journey distant. The Governor of Yarkand is subject to the Emperor of China. There are three colleges at that place; and the Caadi, named Baake Akhoond, is said to be a very learned man. At Yarkand there are three Mosques, Adena-musjid, Khaneket, and Mikhloshe Gerlek; and nine large Medressa or colleges: Kaluk, Kone, Yankee, Kook, Ok, Beylowak, Haway Bek, Akbut, Abdal-sheer.

In the city there are five caravan-serays; I mention their names, as they shew from what parts of the world merchants come to that place: Seray Kashgar, Seray Antijan, Seray Khotan, Seray Badaghjan, Seray Cashmeer; which may be read, Seray for the merchants of Kashgar, of Antijan, &c. Moreover I learned the names of the principal Mullahs in the city of Yarkand: Altoom Muhullah, Khandak Muhullah, Goorbagh Muhullah, Ashor Bekekol Muhullah, Neas Khojeh Kol Muhullah, Khader Gerlek Muhullah, Timoroo Khojeh Khol Muhullah, &c.

The people of Yarkand call themselves Tartar, a name not known at Bokhara. Fifteen years ago, one Akhoond Lok Suleiman, an Armenian, came to Yarkand. It is certain, that there are no Jews there. It is inhabited by Oosbeks, who have, for the last 70 years, been under the government of China. Formerly the place belonged to the government of Bokhara; the Chinese took it after a bloody war of twelve years' duration. The people of Yarkand say, that the King of Bokhara gave it up, moved by compassion, seeing that he had killed millions of Chinese.

There are now at Yarkand two Governors, a Mussulman and a

Chinese. The first is the civil, and the second the military Governor, and their title is Wank. The name of the present Mussulman Governor is Wank Abd Arrahman Beyk Lik; that of the Chinese, Wank Amban. Every three years the Civil Governor is obliged to appear at Peking. The journey is made in six months, and he is conducted from station to station, without being allowed to walk about, or leave his lodgings. So jealous are these people! The post goes in 40 days. The Russian caravans are not allowed to come to Yarkand, but to the neighbouring city of Eele, whence the natives bring on the merchandise. Five years ago, Jehangeer Khoja, a Mussulman Syud, and a descendant of the former Kings of Chinese Tartary, assembled his Moreeds (disciples), and persuaded them to proclaim him King of Yarkand. They went armed to the mosque, and put to death a Chinese soldier; and a Commissary, sent by the Emperor to inquire into the cause of this deed, shared the same fate. This was the signal for a general rebellion. The King of Antijan sent 12000 men to the assistance of Jehangeer Khoja, who put down the Chinese authority, exiled the Chinese merchants, and slaughtered the imperial troops without number; but at last he was taken prisoner, and sent to Peking. On account of his royal blood, he was detained there without being ill treated; but his followers, who had fled to Lassa, were carried back to Yarkand, and put to death.

#### TALES ABOUT CASHMEER.

But to return to the description of Cashmeer. There are two historical accounts of this country, one written according to the traditions of the Hindoos, and the second according to the Mohammedan legends; but the one is as fabulous as the other.

The Hindoos say, that Cashmeer, or, as it should be written, Kashmar, was formerly called "Kashaf mar," the Throne of Kashaf, who was the grandson of Brahmah. The whole valley was covered with water, on which the wife of the genius Shawjee resided. Kashaf was praying; the wife of Shawjee asked, what he was praying for; he replied, "I wish to make a garden; put away this water." Shawjee struck his staff into the lake, so that the earth beneath became hollow; the waters sunk under ground, and the Kashaf made a garden there.

The Mussulman tradition is, that the waters were driven away by the genius of Solomon, when he was borne hither through the air on his throne; for the Mohammedans are taught that Solomon had power not only over all living creatures of this world, but over the genii, and over the elements; and they believe that at his command, a strong wind would bear up his throne, and carry him wherever he would; the genii attending to serve him, and clouds of birds flying above, to shade him from the rays of the sun. There is a mountain at one end of the lake in the valley, called Takht-e-Suleiman, (Throne of Solomon,) because Solomon, as they say, set his foot on it, when he thus passed over Cashmeer. The following are some notes which I made upon the history of this coun-

try; they are not very connected, but I give them as I received them.

#### HISTORY OF CASHMEER.

At first, anarchy prevailed among the people of Cashmeer, therefore they sent to Mutra for a Rajah, who governed them for a while; but when he died, the people disregarded his descendants, and brought another Rajah from Jummo. The name of the first Rajah was Oognam, and of the second Damooda; after these reigned Rajahs Jusivatee, Lair Kishen, Kalkand, Suntur, Gooter, Basram, Janek, Jay Narain, Asnak, Jakook, Ashek, Kashek, Rashek, and Anegan. The last named Rajah built the town of Abapoor, in the district of Ragel, 18 English miles from Cashmeer.

After these fifteen Kings (the periods of whose reign were not specified), the following succeeded:

Rajah Kishen,	.	.	.	.	reigned 34 years.
Pagan,	.	.	.	.	do. 53 do.
Inderjeed (his son),	.	.	.	.	do. 36 do.
Barawand,	.	.	.	.	do. 30 do.
Barra Yareed (from Malua),	.	.	.	.	do. 32 do.
Sanjar (his son),	.	.	.	.	do. 30 do.

Rajah Sanjar had no issue; he was succeeded by Rajah Pegimal, who reigned but eight years, and then followed Rajahs Pijender, Raaj, Micawahan, Seibastin. Rajah Seibastin had two sons, Haran and Porunman; the first ascended the throne, and the second became his Vizier. After four years, Haran was succeeded by his brother's son, Perwarrin; after whom reigned Rajahs Pexermanat, Palawat, and Sahadeo. Sahadeo sat on the throne for 19 years, and was the last of the Rajahs.

Solkador Khan came from Toorkestaun with 70,000 soldiers, and laid waste Cashmeer; Rajah Sahadeo fled to Kishtwaur, and Solkador Khan remained ruler over his country. Rajah Rinjoo Shah was thus converted to the Mohammedan religion. He said, "Whosoever I shall first meet in the morning, his faith I will embrace." He met Bulbul Shah Bagdadee, who came all the way from Bagdad to Cashmeer in one night. Sultan Shumsooddeen of the Children of Gour Shah, came to Cashmeer, and lived as a Derwish. The following Fakeers contributed to promote the Mohammedan religion in this country: Shah Neeamut Oollah Walee, Meer Weese, Syud Sharfooddeen, Sultan Sahabooddeen Poora, Shah Emeer, King; Sultan Alabooddeen, King; Sultan Kootubooddeen, King. In the time of the latter Monarch, the Fakeer Syud Ali Hamadani arrived at Cashmeer; he converted many to Islam, and reformed the Mussulman discipline. After Sultan Kootubooddeen, reigned Sultan Secunder Patshikan, who destroyed the idols at Cashmeer; in his time there flourished the Fakeers Hazrat Emeer, Syud Hyder, and Syud Kamal. Sultan Secunder left the throne to his son Sultan Ali; who after a reign of six years and nine months, was succeeded by Zein Alabaddeen, and went to Mecca. His son, Shah Khan, was carried bound to Samarcand by



Tamerlane; after the death of this Monarch, he remained a little longer at Samarcand, where he learned to make paper, carpets and saddles, the art of book-binding, and midwifery, and then returned to Cashmeer, in the hope of being able to secure the throne at his father's death. Sultan Ali returned from Mecca as a Fakeer; when he came to Jummo, the people persuaded him to put aside his Fakeer's garment, and to assume the royal robe. He went to Baklee near Cashmeer; Sultan Zein Alabaddeen marched against him, defeated, and put him in a prison, where he died. Sultan Zein Alabaddeen established a library at Cashmeer, and greatly contributed to the establishment of the Mohammedan religion; therefore he was styled "Behaudur," Glorious King. He conquered Great and Little Tibet. He defeated the King of Kashgar, and established seven villages: Senakoot, Senapoor, Senadit, Seenagur, Sena Gadal, Sena Lang, and Sena Baza. He was succeeded by his son Hyder, in the year 880 of the Hegira. Hassan Shah, the son of Hyder, was a profligate and a tyrant; the people of Beloolpoor rose against him, and went over to Tartar Khan of Lahore, who came to Cashmeer, and burnt the mosques. Shemsooddeen, a Fakeer from Persia, introduced the tenets of the Sheah sect into Cashmeer. He became King, and was succeeded severally by Ismael Shah, Ibrahim Shah, Futteh Shah, Ausuk Shah, and Dowlut Jack. The latter rose from the degree of a menial servant to be King. In his time, an earthquake happened, which placed the village of Husseinpoor upon the site of Hassanpoor, and the village of Hassanpoor upon the site of Husseinpoor. Dowlut Jack was dispossessed of his throne by Ghazi Khan, who took Tibet. Lastly, in the time of Youssuf Shah, Acbar Shah took possession of the country, and the period of his rule is referred to as the golden age of Cashmeer.

In the year of the Hegira 1078, Arungzebe Alumgeer came here from Delhi, and, as is well known, lavished great treasures in beautifying the valley. During his reign lived the celebrated Fakeer Khawajee Kasim, Haziz, Sadek Maysofe, and Mohammed Farookh. In later years, Cashmeer fell into the hands of Ahmed Shah, who founded the Dooranee monarchy, and it remained with his successors, till it was conquered by Runjeet Singh.

#### HISTORY OF SHEER SINGH, THE PRINCE GOVERNOR.

The history of this Prince is interesting. Lady Mae Sadakor, a Sikh lady, the wife of the Governor of Batala, gave her daughter to the great Runjeet Singh, who had another wife named Nagein. When Kurruk Singh was born of the latter Queen, that jealous and cunning lady, Mae Sadakor, during the absence of Runjeet Singh, took a child of another family, and put in upon the knees of her daughter, and then sent word to the Maharajah, that his wife had given him a child. Runjeet Singh said, "It is very extraordinary that I never knew she was pregnant; well, be it so, let him be my son too." And this child is Sheer Singh, the acknowledged Prince Royal, and Governor of Cashmeer.

Dewan Vesaka Singh, servant to Lady Mace Sadakor, had a quarrel with her; and whilst there was enmity between them, her daughter, the Queen, died. Dewan Vesaka Singh took the boy before Runjeet Singh, and told him, that his mother-in-law designed escaping beyond the Sutledge to Sirdhana, to the Indian Princess Begum Sumroo. Runjeet Singh then arrested her, and she lately died in prison. Her estates and possessions were given to Vesaka Singh, who is now with Sheer Singh in Cashmeer, a great tyrant and oppressor.

Sheer Singh became commander of the troops in a bloody war, where he distinguished himself as a General, and gained the confidence and favour of Runjeet Singh. When the Maharajah dies, Sheer Singh, it is supposed, will be assisted by the French General Allard and Monsieur Ventura, to dispute the succession with Runjeet's real son, and probably much blood will be shed in the country.

Shah Neamut Oollah, a Peer, a holy man of Cashmeer, is said to have prophesied 100 years ago, that 100 years after him, Cashmeer should be governed by an infidel King, who should oppress the followers of Islam. The Mussulmans in Runjeet Singh's country apply this prophecy to him, for he is very severe towards them, not allowing them to eat beef, or to cry the call to prayers. When I was in Cashmeer, the Dewan Vesaka Singh put five Mohammedans to death, on pretence of their having killed a cow; but his object was to seize their property. I remember at Vuzeerabad, Signor Avitabile was about to execute a Mohammedan for killing a cow, according to the laws of the kingdom; I begged him not to do it, but to send the offender to Runjeet Singh with a recommendation for mercy, and I afterwards heard that the Maharajah was contented with cutting off the man's nose. Several Persians from Kaseroon, Hamadan, and Tabreez called on me; I proclaimed to them Jesus Christ, and Him crucified; the "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." They listened for two hours. Futteh Khan, who was with Meer Syud Oollah and Mr. Morecroft, called on me, and attended to my preaching. I was also visited by Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande, the Moorshed of the people of Yarkand, and considered a holy man. He read in Persian to his disciples, Mullah Mohammed from Sheher-e-Subz, and several others, the 24th and 25th chapters of Matthew; we then spoke about the necessity of being born again, and read John 3d. Blessed Lord Jesus, shed the light of thy truth upon their hearts, and be thou present in the power of thy Holy Spirit, wherever thy sacred word is proclaimed or read!

Mullah Mohammed from Sheher-e-Subz tells me that the Oosbeks at Kokan are of the tribe of Yoos and Min; those at Samar-cand of the tribe of Koptshak; the King of Sheher-e-Subz, he says, is of the tribe Kara Saly: and others in the neighbourhood, of the tribe Ajik Meile. He says that in his city there are several Mullahs who argue about religion; as, the Mufti Mullah Rejub, Mullah Abdal Raheem, and Mullah Shereef. According to his account,

there are five celebrated colleges at Samarcand: Medressa Khanem, M. Tilla Kaaree, M. Meer Dad, M. Merza Oolokh Beyk Koree Khan, M. Ak Medressa. He confirms the statement of my Yarkand acquaintances, and of the Sheher-e-Subz people, whom I met in Cashmeer, that in Khiva, Sheher-e-Subz, Kokan, and the surrounding countries, there are 8000 Russian slaves. Hearing these people describe the state of Toorkestaun, one cannot help wishing that Russia might take possession of Northern, and England of Eastern Asia.

Oct. 19.—I held a conversation with the Brahmin Sheuram of the city of Cashmeer, who is esteemed a very learned man. Hitherto I have not met with a single Brahmin who would not agree in every thing I told him, and declare it to be also written in the Shaster; and the only way to bring them to an argument is to attack their idolatry, and try to shew them, that if their Veds approve of their idolatry, they must be false books, and not divinely inspired. I make it a point, as often as practicable, first to preach the Gospel, and then to ask for information; and this I did to-day with the venerable old Brahmin Sheuram. After having spoken to him about the death of Christ, and proclaimed to him Jesus my Saviour as the Son of God, I asked him, "In how many Gods do you believe?"

*Sheuram.* There is one God; but he has many names. The whole earth stands upon the serpent Sheshnag; she has 1000 teeth and 2000 tongues; with every tongue she pronounces every day a new name of God, and this she has done for centuries and centuries, never repeating a name once pronounced.

*Myself.* Tell me the history of the creation according to your books.

*S.* First all was water; out of the midst of it, by the power of God, a water lily\* arose; at which, when it was grown up, the four faces of Brahmah appeared; out of the four mouths of these faces, four Veds (books) proceeded: Rek Ved, Jaajor Ved, Syaam Ved, Atarban Ved. After this, Brahmah prayed 100 years, and then he saw God. He enquired of God: "Why hast thou created me?" God replied, "*I create things by the power of the Word of God;*" and thus, of the heart of Brahmah were born four sons: Zanak, Zanandan, Zanadan, and Zanad Komar. These four sons built no houses, but lived in the woods; they are still alive, but remain always like children of five years of age; and whoever prays with his heart,† is capable of seeing them. Brahmah ordered these four sons to marry; but they declined. Embarrassed at their refusal, he created other sons: Mereze, Atre, Angra, Polaste, Polah,

\* Simon Ben Yohay, in his Caballistical book, entitled Zohar, or the Candle, makes a similar allusion to a water lily. It would be interesting if a thorough Sanscrit scholar would compare the Zohar (the Caballistical book published by Rabbi Simon Ben Yohay) with the Hindoo Veds.

† One thing forcibly strikes me, that the Hindoos speak more of internal devotion than I ever heard Mohammedans.

Kradoo, Pehiste, Dakshe, and Narada; but none of their forms appeared. Then the body of Brahmah divided itself; the right side became man, and the left woman; the man was called Shamboo, the woman Satropa; and of these two came the whole human race. Brahmah ordered Dakshe to make the creation appear. Dakshe begat 10,000 sons. These were commanded by Brahmah to devote their time to the worship of God. They went to Doorgah and worshipped 10,000 years. Narada went to them and said, "Make no houses, but worship." Dakshe begat other 5000 sons, and sent them to Doorgah, where they devoted their time to the worship of God. Narada went to them and said, "Make no houses, but worship." Dakshe thought that Narada had done wrong, and said to him, "Go into the world, and remain in every place not beyond one hour." Dakshe begat 60 daughters; 27 of them he married to the moon, and 17 to Kashif; from whom the whole creation came; Krishna benefits all, and appears in every thing. Sheef, or Rooter, created of the forehead of Brahmah, is the destroyer. Concerning the deluge, the Shaster says, that the pious Rajah Sat Prit prayed, and God appeared to him. God became like a fish, and inundated all the world. He placed the Rajah in a ship, and that fish, which had horns, saved the vessel from the raging of the waters, by binding it on his horns.

#### MOULAVIE KHAIR ADDEEN.

Moulavie Khair Addeen, writer of the history of Cashmeer, called upon me. He is in possession of the book written against Christianity by the unfortunate Nathaniel Sabat, well known at Calcutta. Moulavie Khair Addeen read to the Hindoos, who were then with me, Matthew v. vi. vii. I had then a discussion with him about the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, which lasted four hours. One of his proofs for the truth of the Mohammedan religion was, that all the Christian Powers are subjects of, and give tribute to, the Sultan of Constantinople. I confuted him with mentioning the battle of Navarino. Pundit Rahan, and another Brahmin present, listened with great attention.

Shaum Singh, one of the military Fakeers, called Akalee, was pointed out to me as a very brave soldier. I never saw such a venerable looking, beautiful, and at the same time warrior-like face in my life: dressed in a long black garment, with his flowing white beard, light piercing eyes, and rosy cheeks, he had the appearance of a supernatural being.

There are now at Cashmeer 21 places inhabited by Mohammedan Fakeers, to whom the people of Toorkestaun go on pilgrimage. One very esteemed place is that of Syud Ahmud Samaree, who composed the book called "Tanaweer;" and another that of Syud Mohammed Khawaree, who wrote the books "Shirrah-e-Samaree," and "Khawar Namah."

Dewan Vesaka Singh, the Prince's Minister, called upon me, and I took a walk with him through the city. This town improves the more one sees of it; situated as it is in a large valley, and sur-



rounded by high mountains. It is not very wide, but it is situated in a broad plain, through which a beautiful park extends, called Meisoome. There are 28 mosques of some note, the principal ones of which are, the Juma Musjid, and the Musjid-e-Sung; and there are 14 Dhurmsals or Hindoo temples, the chief of which are, Dar Matang and Shahabad. Afterwards I called again on the Prince Governor, who had his room illuminated. Mookhtarjoo, the horse-keeper of Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande, called on me; and again, Moulavie Khair Addeen. They observed, that since Cashmeer had existed, no Frank had come there for the purpose of talking about Jesus; and that they were convinced my coming was a sign that the Christians would soon govern the whole world. The last belief, they said, was warranted by the Huddees.

The following is the information I got from Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande, and Moulavie Khair Addeen.

To the province of Cashmeer belong 36 districts, and 5270 villages. The names of the districts are, Sirree Nugger, Woollar, Yetshee, Nagam, Wehoo, Adween, Anderkood, Berooe, Brenk, Baukel, Behak, Batoo, Battan, Barraspoor, Deelagam, Deewesar, Dejen Paree, Densoo, Gahowiparee, Seinapoor, Seinageer, Sayerol Mawajee, Sabza Samman, Shokroo, Shawre, Martand, Islamabad, Shahabad, Goodahar, Dejnaw Kahawaree, Krooken, Kohee Hamoon, Kamray, Mohummudabad, Mah Jahamoon-Laala. The Prince Governor told me that the country of Cashmeer may contain a population of 600,000 souls.

I sailed with His Royal Highness in his boat, upon the beautiful lake called Dall, where we had much conversation. We went to see his country-house, called Char-Chenar; and the gardens called Baugh Neshar, Jellalabad, and Neseem; and to the mountain Tukht-e-Suleiman, or, as the Hindoos call it, Shaukhrajahraj; a Hindoo temple dedicated to Sheef, is on this mountain; and here several Jews lie buried.

The Prince told me, that he intended to attack Little Thibet and Ladak next summer. The revenues of Little Thibet, he said, amounted to not more than 30,000 rupees per annum; those of Great Thibet to 600,000; but he declared that he did not wish to take these countries on account of their revenue, but for the name and the fame of the conquest. "For, (said he,) in time of war, the soldier's name becomes illustrious." He assured me, that he wished to open the road to Thibet and China for the English; he wants to establish Dawks (posts) in his country, on the English plan, and is most anxious to see Calcutta.

#### WITCHCRAFT.

In the course of conversation, His Royal Highness asked me, what punishment would be inflicted upon a person who should try to kill the King by sorcery; as, according to the Shaster, a witch is to be exiled, after her hands and tongue have been cut off; and the wife and children of a wizard, moreover, become slaves to the

King. I answered that there are laws in the Bible against witches, but not in the present laws of Britain; upon which the Prince observed, that according to the Bible itself, witchcraft must exist; and he then desired me to send him the Gospel, and a book containing the laws of England.

Sheer Singh wanted to send for a witch, to give me a proof of her abilities; but I declined, as I thought it was against the dictates of the word of God; though I firmly believe, that there are witches; for the Bible assures us that they did exist, and I no where find in it, that they have ceased to be. Without doubt a great deal of superstition has gone abroad about sorcery; and many foolish things have been done on account of it: for instance, the witches in the mountains of Cashmeer are very celebrated for their skill in sucking out the blood of men, till they die; when they are discovered, they are burnt; and in the Himmalayah mountains, when a woman is suspected of witchcraft, it is usual to throw her into a deep pool, with a heavy weight sufficient to sink her; and if she does not sink, she is declared to be a witch; but it is not necessary therefore to disbelieve the existence of witchcraft altogether: in this conceited age, alas! people are too much imbued with the negative system, and while they deny one thing, they build up another on some flimsy theory of their own; what they say of sorcery, many say of miracles, that the time of these things is gone by; but where do they find this in Scripture? It all rises from pride and want of faith; “the age,” they say, “the age is so enlightened, and philosophy is making such rapid advances.” But after all this boasting, where are the great men of the age? Has it produced a Newton, or a Bacon, a Christianus Wolff, or a Leibnitz? No; but many professors, whose systems have been built up one day and destroyed the next; men have not faith, because they will not search the Scriptures!

The Prince, Sheer Singh, was always very kind to me, and he gave me presents, which enabled me to send back to my benefactor the £125 which was most kindly contributed to the expense of my mission. These presents consisted of 14 pieces of shawls, Thibet silk, three horses, and 1800 Cashmeer rupees, equal to £100.

His Royal Highness introduced me to the people of Little Thibet, who came to give testimony of their submission. Little Thibet is 10 days journey, or 100 miles distant from Cashmeer. They have a King, named Ahmud Shah, called likewise Secunder, and said to be a descendant of Alexander the Great. It was much my wish to have gone there, but the snow prevented me, and obliged me to return to India. However, I procured some useful information about Thibet, which I will now detail.

#### INFORMATION ABOUT THIBET.

*Oct. 20.*—His Royal Highness, Sheer Singh, sent to me Toshe Lambo, who had come as Ambassador to him from the Rajah of Ladak, and who is a native of the village of Henescot, four days journey from Leh, the capital of Ladak.

Toshe Lambo is himself of the Thibetian religion; he was dressed in a coloured linen coat, with a black tailed cap upon his head, like the Maronites and Druses in Mount Lebanon. About Lassa, I received my information from Emeer Shah of Cashmeer, a most respectable gentleman, who resided 26 years at Lassa. Hon Panma Tshones, who, it is said, could fly in the air, and Mani, were the establishers of the religion of Thibet. "Gandyur" is the name of the book written by Hon Panma Tshones.

Gonjo, Tsho Gonjo, and Lama Gonjo, are three names given by the Thibetians to the one God.

They call Paradise, Dowa Jenes, and Hell, Sinkoon. It is in God's hands to drag the wicked out of Hell whenever he pleases.

Tonde is the Thibetian word for the Devil.

The people of Lassa perform pilgrimage to Yeba, 11 English miles from the capital, where they have an image of Abraham, called Loban.

The profession of a belief in one God, made by Abraham, is mentioned in holy writ without much comment, as other matters of importance generally are; but it must have been well known all over the East; for all the different religious sects in Asia are full of accounts regarding Abraham. The Mohammedans, Parsees, Sabians and Thibetians, all claim acquaintance with the great Patriarch.

Another place of pilgrimage is Semya, where they have an idol of precious stones, called Lah; and a third, is Tshadeyn or Mane Jamelin, erected by a Tshomoo or Thibetian nun. Their hermits are called Tobbe.

The Thibetians do not perform ablutions, as the Hindoos do. They have two kinds of sacrifice, *Gunjol Pue*, "give to God;" and *Gunjol Puraee*, "I have offered it to God." They sacrifice cows and sheep. Before they drink anything, they sprinkle some drops upwards to heaven and exclaim, "Pue."

In the Thibetian temple of Lassa, called Sera, is a large iron nail or pin, called Porba, of which the people of Thibet relate, that it was a nail of one of the tents of Alexander the Great. To this they perform every year their devotions; the Lama first puts it on his head, and then the rest.

Toshe Lambo tells me, that when a man dies, he rises again in that place where the Grand Lama decides that he should rise.

The seat of the Grand Lama is at Lassa; Gewa is one of his names, which signifies "regenerated."

The Lamas understand witchcraft. In time of war they are soldiers. The Grand Lama appears once every year, sitting upon a throne upon the top of his palace, called Bootela, which is thirteen stairs high, built of stone. They have a kind of beads in their hands, and exclaim, "Mane-Peme-Horo. In the first month of the year, which they call Tangboo, they have a feast called Losar, i. e. New year's day. In the second month, Dawa Neepa, they observe a fast, which lasts 15 days; during which time they go to the temple called Tshogan; one of the Lamas delivers a sermon stand-

ing, while the auditors sit with their heads bowed to the ground, observing a solemn silence.

#### NAMES OF THE THIBETIAN MONTHS.

Dawa Tangboo, D. Neepa, D. Sompā, D. Sheepa, D. Napa, D. Dokpa, D. Nonpa, D. Ghepa, D. Goopa, D. Jooba, D. Jokjoba, D. Jooneba.

#### VOCABULARY OF SOME THIBETIAN WORDS.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Thibetian.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Thibetian.</i>
God	Gontshokh.	Ear	Amtsho.
Prayer	Jakhpōl.	Tongue	Tshee.
Earth	Sakyet.	Mouth	Ka.
Day of judgment	} Kebo Logha.	Nose	Nagoo.
Judge		Lips	Tshodo.
Sun	Tajeer.	Tooth	Tzo.
Moon	Neema.	Beard	Are.
Stars	Dawa.	Hand	Laghpa.
Angel	Gazm.	Foot	Gangapa.
Idol	Lah.	Knee	Bemoo.
Temple	Lah.	Fire	Meh.
Friend	Laghan.	Water	Tsho.
Enemy	Tonjee.	Wine	Tshauk.
Sickness	Dda.	Sleep	Nee.
Health	Tobbo.	To eat	Szoa.
Physician	Kebbo.	To drink	Szeyd.
Head	Amjee.	King	} Kebo
Hair	Go.	of China	
Eye	Ddo.	Garden	} Tshena Kebo.
Nightingale	Mee.	Bird	
Rose	Tshomo.	War	Linga.
European	Meddo.	General	Tshapoo.
	Pelee.		Mah.
			Bombo.

#### NAMES OF COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE.

Cashmeer	Kajoor.	Nepaul	Payoo.
Hindoostaun	Gakhar.	Calmucs	Sokhboo.
China	Pejeen.	The English	Pelee.
Mecca and Medinah	} Dorjedy.	The Russians	Oroos.

#### NUMBERS IN THE CALMUC LANGUAGE.

1 Negor, 2 Hagor, 3 Khorba, 4 Dorbon, 5 Tabon, 6 Sorkha, 7 Dolo, 8 Namoo, 9 Yozuen, 10 Arbon, 11 Arbon Negor, &c. 20 Haron, 30 Khotshen, 40 Dojon, 50 Taben, 60 Tsheren, 70 Dolon, 80 Nayon, 90 Yeren, 100 Tsho.

#### CHINESE NUMBERS.

1 Ee, 2 Oer, 3 Szan, 4 Szo, 5 Oo, 6 Lee, 7 Tshoo, 8 Baa, 9 Tshoo, 10 She, 20 Oersh, 30 Szansh, 40 Szosh, 100 Yebay, 1000 Yetshan.



## MEDITATIONS.

Amongst all the researches and preachings, one cannot help exclaiming, "Oh! Lord Jesus! why is my heart so dry? Is the spirit of the Lord departed from me? certainly not! thou wilt never depart from me!"

## INFORMATION ABOUT THE THIBETIANS, CONTINUED.

At the time of a drought, the Thibetians give alms to the poor, and exclaim, "Send rain over the kingdom of Hindoostan and China!"

Emeer Shah informed me, that the people of Lassa do not bury their dead. The great are burnt, and the poor are given as food to the wild beasts.

I asked Toshe Lambo what punishment they inflict upon an adulterer. He replied, "If he is discovered, the husband takes a stick and gives him a sound beating; the wife is not punished."

The females of Ladak in great Thibet wear some precious stones upon their shoulders; those of Lassa drink a kind of spirits, called jang, and wear golden ear-rings, and chains around their necks.

These Thibetians must live in a most degraded state; for they themselves mention as a matter of course, that polyandry, polygamy, and incest is practised among them. Two brothers have one wife; a man will marry a woman and her daughter also. The Thibetians sell their children: a daughter for two dollars.

The Lamas never marry, neither do the nuns (Tshomo;) and if either are convicted of having intercourse with the other sex, their punishment is death.

A long time ago, one of the Rajahs had two wives who continually quarrelled. After their death, he made a vow never to marry again; many followed his example. One of the wives of that Rajah was the daughter of the Emperor of China, who brought as a dower, a large idol, called Tsho Roomajee, made of gold, its belly filled with precious stones, and upon its head an Arabic Korân, which is still preserved.

The people of Thibet have two books, Boom and Gundyer, which are mere translations of the Hindoo Veds. They understand the art of printing, for they have presses, and every public order is printed. Two newspapers are published at Lassa, one called Pejeje, for the Emperor of China, and another called Yarkhujee, for the people.

The Emperor of China is there called by the Chinese *Dakhon*, and by the Thibetians, *Tshena* or *Jenaa Kebo*.

The Commander in chief of the army is called *Depoon*.

The Thibetians have no beards.

*Leh* is the capital of the province of Ladak in Great Thibet. It contains about 2000 inhabitants, Thibetians and Cashmeerians. In the Thibetian language, the Cashmeerians are called *Kaje*, the followers of Ali Batte.

There is one vast plain from Ladak to Lassa. From Leh one goes to Gerdokh, where there are soldiers in tents, placed there by order of the Grand Lama, to prevent any foreigners from passing.

The soldiers are called *Maamee*, their chief is called *Gherboom*. Lassa is the seat of the Grand Lama. The other authorities there are:

The Rajah, or Gelzab; Vuzeer, in Thibetian *Shebee*, in Chinese, Galoon; Registrar, *Zeboon*; Judge, *Sherban*; Police master, *Me-poon*, or *Shoy Deba*; Advocate, *Donyer*; Porter, *Gonyer*.

The people at Lassa call their temples *Zogan*. The great temple there is called *Labran* or *Gonpa*.

#### STREETS OF LASSA.

1. Galkhan, where there is a Chinese Temple, called by the Thibetians Lakhan. 2. Loogaan, the Downing street of Lassa, for it is the attraction of all the Nobles. 3. Naane Sher, at the East. 4. Jemeshah, where a remarkable well is. 5. Doore. 6. Labran Ningba, i. e. old Temple. 7. Sheetee. 8. Moroo, the place of a Ghelab prince. 9. Tengheling. 10. Zenoling. 11. Shotoling. 12. Shoa. 13. Loogan. 14. Temoo. 15. Lakhan. 16. Torn, which is the market place. 17. Shata.

The caravans from China alight in the quarter called Bomashor, outside the town.

#### DENOMINATIONS OF THE PEOPLE AT LASSA.

Buddee or Thibetians, Khetaj or Chinese, Kelmak or Calmuks, Kashmeree or Kajee, by the Chinese they are called Juntoo. Gongbo, Kamba, Newar, or people of Nepaul. There are two kinds of people at Nepaul: Newar and Gorka. Gamoroo or soldiers, Saboo or soldiers, Yoonan or Yoonanee, believed to be Greeks. Judging from the name, they must be descendants of the army of Alexander the Great: but as they have no idols, I believe them to be Jews: Emeer Shah also believes them to be such. They are of a white colour, and are great physicians and merchants. They live especially at Darjando in China, whence the tea is brought. Lassa abounds in corn.

In the territory of Lassa is a place called Jantanzirga, i. e. field of gold mines, where a great deal of gold is to be found.

At Dopka, 15 days journey from Lassa, and three days from Rankpoor, jewels are found upon a mountain.

Seventy years ago, the two Rajahs, Ale Dow and Meewan, made war with China. Ale Dow killed 100,000 Chinese soldiers, and built upon their skulls a house, called Gomboo Gah. The Rajahs were at last defeated, and Thibet subdued.

#### SACRIFICES AMONG THE HINDOOS.

The Hindoos have animal sacrifices, which they offer to Dewee. Ram is pleased with the offering of a rose. Sooret Singh tells me, that whosoever worships Dewee from the heart, obtains his heart's desire.

#### KUNCHUNEE, OR THE BEAUTIFUL GIRL IN THE VALLEY.

There are throughout Hindoostaun dancing women or prostitutes, called Kunchunee; most of them are girls sold by their cruel

parents to a class of persons, who educate them for this dreadful trade, dress them well, and carry them about to amuse strangers, by dancing and singing. One of these unfortunate creatures came to the camp where I was seated with Hindoos and Mussulmans, and offered to entertain us by dancing. She was wonderfully beautiful;

‘She was not in the valley born,  
Nobody knew from whence she came.’

I desired the Hindoos to tell her how much I disapproved of her manner of life, and to acquaint her that I was a follower of Jesus Christ, who tells us, that people like her must go to hell, if they do not repent.

*Dancing Girl.* What shall I do? I must live.

*Myself.* Why do you not work?

*D. G.* I have not learnt to work.

*M.* You can easily learn, go to some service.

*D. G.* I will go with you.

*M.* I would lose my reputation.

*D. G.* Tell me what I must do, I shall follow your counsel.

*M.* Pray to God, and he will enlighten and assist you.

*D. G.* How shall I pray? nobody ever taught me to pray. I was sold by my father and mother, and brought up for this sort of life. I am now purchased by Surdars, and all kinds of people, like a bit of bread. Nobody taught me to pray to God.

*M.* Pray to God as a child speaks to its father; for God is our father. Pray, “Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy will be done on earth, as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, &c.”

Poor girl! she expressed sorrow, and promised to follow my counsel. I relieved her with money, she wept and went away; her beauty was of a very superior order. She was not in the valley born, nobody knew from whence she came!

#### CONVERSATION WITH TWO FAKEERS.

Two Fakeers came to beg charity: one was naked, and the other had dust on his face.

*Myself.* (To the first.) What is your occupation?

*Fakeer.* The service of God.

*M.* How do you serve God?

*F.* By walking and dancing about like a fool, the whole day and the whole night; (and saying this, he began to dance about, exclaiming continually, “Oh God! nothing but thou; Oh God! nothing but thou.”)

*M.* (To the second.) Why have you dust on your face?

*F.* I am a Moored of Imam Jaafar Sadek, buried at Medinah. Man is of dust, and therefore he must have dust on his face.

I proclaimed to them Jesus Christ, the man of sorrows, the man who died upon Calvary; and shewed them the unreasonableness of their present pursuits. The one washed the dust off his face

with spittle, and the other ceased to dance, and exclaimed, "We have been convinced." It is striking, that as well in Persia, as in Hindoostan, the Fakeers and Dervishes look with contempt upon every written word of God, and every outward ceremony of religion, and believe themselves to have obtained such a degree of perfection, that all these things, necessary for the generality of people, are not necessary for them. I think this is a great proof that all men descended from one common father, Adam; that the human mind, and human thoughts, are the same in England, as among the Fakeers and learned men in Persia; though in different forms and shapes: in the one they are more refined and more clear than in the other. The system of Jacob Boehme, of Swedenborg, of Leibnitz, Emanuel Kant, Schelling, and Fichte, may be traced, and surely discovered in Persia, and among the Fakeers in the Himmalayah mountains; the law of celibacy, and in a great degree, the spirit of Roman Catholics, are both to be found among the Lamas at Ladak; and many a Catharine of Siena, and many a nun like Theresa of Cordova, may be found in the female convents of the Tshomo or Ane (Nuns) of Ladak and Lassa.

Thus it is with the relationship of human errors, and thus it is with the light of truth. The Spirit of God, I am convinced, now guides a Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande in the city of Cashmeer, and a Joseph of Talkhtoon in the desert of Mowr, in the same way as it did Cornelius and Job of old; for though the truth is incontrovertible, that there is only one name given by which men can be saved, the name of Jesus Christ, God blessed for ever, I am convinced, that He brings many to himself, in a way that we know not; concerning which St. Augustin says beautifully: "*Multæ oves foris, multi lupi intus.*" "Many sheep without, many wolves within." And Thomas Aquinas boldly says, that God sends to many a man in the wilderness an angel from heaven to enlighten him. Thou silent sufferer, Job, though not a son of Abraham, thou knewest that thy Redeemer lived, and that thou wast to see him in the flesh; and I hope to see thee, oh Pius VII. in heaven. Venerable old man! how often was I edified and inflamed by thy unaffected and heart-penetrating devotion! What a beautiful day shall this be, when Pius VII. and Luther, Count Stolberg and Huss, Ganganelli and Melancton, Francis Xavier and Henry Martyn, leading each the flock which they have fed with the bread of life, and shining like the brightness of the firmament, shall embrace each other before Jesus the Lord and Saviour of all, sit down at his table, and enter into his eternal rest. Thou, O Lord Jesus, alone readest the heart. Thou only softenest it with the dew of holiness. Thou, Shepherd of the Israelite and the Gentile, alone knowest thy own sheep; shed light upon the paths of all those who wander in darkness, and gather quickly all nations into thy fold.

#### THE KHALEEFA IN THE CASHMEER MOUNTAINS.

As well the Hindoos as Mohammedans, talk much of the bravery of an Indian Mussulman, named Syud Ahmud, who incited many



of his sect to take up arms against Runjeet Singh, and three times defeated the Maharajah's army, sent against him. He was the son of a Soonee Dervish of some celebrity, named Shah Loll, of the town of Roy Barelley, in the province of Oude, and was for some time the Moored of a famed devotee of the city of Delhi, named Moulvee Shah Abdool Azeez, who liked him so much, that he nominated him his Khaleefa, or Successor. However, he did not remain here, but set himself up for a zealous reformer of Mohammedanism, and travelled over India, preaching a doctrine something like that of the famed Abdool Wahab. Having gained a great many converts, and established Naibs or deputies at most of the principal places, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca; and, on his return, followed by some hundreds of his devoted countrymen, travelled up to Peshawr, where he exhorted the Affghauns to rise and destroy the government of the infidel Runjeet Singh. At first he was received with great enthusiasm: the Baruchzye Sirdars of Peshawr became his Moreeds, and he assumed the title of Ameer-ool Moomeneen, Commander of the Faithful. But it is said, that after a while, the Sirdars saw that he was more ambitious than religious, and becoming jealous, caused many to fall away from him; at last, he was defeated in battle by Sheer Singh, and five hundred of his followers, who refused to surrender, were cut in pieces.

#### DEPARTURE FROM CASHMEER.

*Oct. 21.*—I left Cashmeer, in company with Emeer Shah of Lassa, and the three Yarkand Mullahs, recommended to me by Mohummud Shah Nakhshbande.

We arrived this day at Ramoon, after a journey of 19 miles, and the next day travelled on nine miles to Shopeyan.

*Oct. 23.*—Went seven and a half miles to Doptshee. We were accompanied by a good many shawl-makers, fugitives from Cashmeer. The poor people went out to escape the oppression they suffered under the government of Runjeet Singh. It was heart breaking to see some of the poor women, deprived of nearly every thing, walking sorrowfully away from their homes, and carrying their children on their heads. These people made me acquainted with the sufferings that had befallen them. They told me, that they inherited the beauty of angels, but that beauty had withered away since the government of the Sikhs.

#### CURIOUS MARRIAGE OF RUNJEET SINGH.

A few weeks ago, His Majesty Runjeet Singh regularly married a common courtesan, and announced his alliance with all solemnity to all the Rajahs of the country. He has conferred upon her the title of Begum (Princess), and magnificent presents have been sent from the Rajahs on this occasion. He has dismissed all his other wives, and is devoted to her; and when the servants of the mighty Rajah, Lena Singh, tried to force the servants of the new Queen to desist from bringing their effects over the river Jelum in a boat,

before the effects of Lena Singh had passed, Runjeet Singh ordered two battalions of his soldiers to march against the men of Lena Singh, and twelve persons were killed on that occasion.

The Cashmeer fugitives told me, that in the time of the Hindoo Governor, Kriss Bararam, an earthquake happened at Cashmeer, which continued two years, and destroyed half the city; after this, the cholera morbus killed 70,000 persons. Kriss Bararam was a milder Governor than Vesaka Singh. Three months ago, by order of the latter, Mamma Bat, his brother, and three of his apprentices, were burnt alive at Cashmeer.

My companions entertained me further, by telling me legends of the celebrated Fakeers who died at Cashmeer. Emeer Kebeer, King of Hamadan, forsook the world and the ambition of a throne, and became a Fakeer in the valley of Cashmeer. Here you have a Charles V. among the Mohammedans. Emeer Nasook Khaleefa, was endowed with the gift of prophecy. Huzrut Mukhdoom Sheikh Hamya had 300,000 disciples. Shaikh Yacoob Sarfe went to Mecca, and thence to Medinah, where he was refused leave to enter some holy place. He changed himself into a serpent, and entered.

Shah Kasem Akhanee said, "When you shall see corn growing upon my grave, then the day of resurrection is nigh at hand." The people of Cashmeer assure me, that corn has now begun to grow upon his grave, and that therefore they believe my words must be true, that Jesus will soon come. Akhoond Mullah Hussein Rahma was versed in all sciences. Shaikh Behabadeen was surnamed "Ganjbukhsh," or Bestower of treasures, because he was a great alms giver.

Shaikh Naamut Oollah, 100 years ago, prophesied the conquest of Cashmeer by Runjeet Singh, and its present state of misery. The poor people of Cashmeer who related this, added: "Cashmeer Kherab! Cashmeer Kherab!" Cashmeer is a desolation! Cashmeer is a desolation! Rub Reische Maloo lived a life of celibacy. Shaikh Noor-ooddeen Wale ate grass for twelve years, twelve years he ate nothing at all, and twelve years he bound wood upon his breast. The Kings of Cashmeer undertook no affair of importance, without previously consulting him. Behold a Mohammedan Nicholas Von Der Flue.\* Reeshe Mowloo never ate cow's meat. I must here observe, that the Mussulmans ridicule the Hindoos for not eating cow's meat, and yet some of their own Fakeers have abstained from the same, and are praised for it. Battoo Malloo was the Thaumalurgos of Cashmeer.

\* Nicholas Von Der Flue was a hermit in the mountains of Switzerland, in the 14th century, of whom the Swiss historians assert, that he fasted 19 years; that the Emperor Sigismund, and the Bishop of Constance consulted him; and that when the different Cantons were about to break out in a civil war, Nicholas Von Der Flue came from his retirement, and established peace among them. Even the great historians Johannes Von Muller and Zschokke, relate as a fact, his not having eaten for the space of 19 years.

Oct. 24.—We arrived at Poshyanah, 12 coss or 18 E. m. from Shopeyan.

Oct. 25.—Travelled 19 miles to Tana.

Oct. 26.—We arrived again at Rajour; I have already stated, that the Rajah of this place, Raheem Oollah, is the most intelligent and learned Rajah I have met with. He was again very kind to me. He himself, his son, Rajah Fakeer Oollah Gholam Ahmud Hakeem, and Mirza Ahmud Oollah, desired anxiously the Gospel, for the purpose of convincing themselves of the truth of it. They asked me, (for they were all Mussulmans) what was considered by the Christians to be *Huram*, and what *Halal*, i. e. *unlawful* and *lawful*. I replied, "In the Christian religion, *Huram* is to hate one's enemy; *Halal*, to love him." I then proclaimed unto them Jesus Christ, and him crucified. They asked me whether in Hindoostan Mussulmans or Hindoos ever turned Christians. I mentioned to them the cases of Abd Almeseeh and of the Brahmin Anand Messeeh at Kurnaul.

Oct. 30.—Arrived at Nowsharah; a Fakeer went with me; he was a short young fellow, and sang a portion of the Koran to excite my feelings of compassion. When I asked him why he did not work, he replied, "To sing praise to God is my work." Here a good many monkeys came near me, and took the bread out of my hands; and when I with surprise looked at them, they mimicked me, and took another piece, until I took the stick; observing this, they took another piece, and ran off.

Oct. 31.—Proceeded nine English miles to Seray Saidabad. I saved a poor Cashmeer woman with her child from prison, by speaking to the Governor.

Nov. 1.—We travelled six coss to Pempar. Here I met soldiers with a Palankeen, sent for me by my friend Josiah Harlan, to carry me to his house at Goozerat, where he is Governor, and gatherer of the revenue for Runjeet Singh. We stopped at Kotta, nine E. m. on the way to Goozerat. A Bayejee, (learned man of the Sikhs) who spends his time in reading the "Grunth Saheb," the religious book of the Sikhs, called on me, and gave me a few Cardamun seeds as a present.

This day I received several letters from Calcutta, and one from Mr. Shore, a son of Lord Teignmouth at Futtehghur, inviting me to come to him.

Nov. 2.—I arrived at Goozerat in the house of Josiah Harlan, Esq. the Governor of the province.

On the 3d of Nov. I left this friend's hospitable dwelling and travelled 12 coss to Goojra wala, where an Indian Fakeer from Kurnaul, whom they call Goozyn, one who worships only Sheef, the destroyer, came to me. I preached to him the Gospel.

Nov. 14.—His Majesty Runjeet Singh wrote to me a letter, in which he thanked me for the Persian Testament I had sent him, and which Lady William Bentinck had got beautifully bound for me. This day I went 12 coss to Nangah.

*Nov. 15.*—14 coss to Lapoke. Here I met six travelling Mullahs, coming from Peshawr, and going to Delhi. I preached a crucified Saviour to them. This is the first time I have met with travelling Mullahs. Thus Rabbis wander frequently from place to place, to preach the tenets of the Talmud. Oh, Lord Jesus! when shall the time come that we shall see hosts of preachers of the everlasting Gospel go forth to the nations of the East, from Calcutta to Delhi and Peshawr, to the cities of Yarkund, Lassa and Antijaan!

*Nov. 16.*—I arrived for the second time at Umritsir, 12 coss. I called on Fakeer Imaum Ooddeen, who wishes to get the whole Bible in Persian or Arabic. I also called on the Governor Futteh Singh, to whom, at his own request, I explained the tenets of the Christian religion. He desired to have a Testament in the language of the Shaster.

The Mussulman, Moulvee Gholam Mohammed Khan, from Delhi, and the Brahmin Sobera, entered into conversation about the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The first was in possession of a Persian Testament, received from Captain Murray of Umbala, and he gave me evidence of his having perused it.

Rae Ananderan, a Hindoo Colonel in the service of Runjeet Singh, called on me. I preached to him Jesus Christ our Saviour, God blessed for ever. He disavowed his veneration to idols.

Futteh Singh, the Governor, sent me fifty-one rupees and a shawl.

*Nov. 17.*—Travelled 10 coss to Pehrowal.

*Nov. 18.*—19 coss to Jelandar.

*Nov. 19.*—25 coss to Loodianah, where I lived with Lieutenant Codrington.

*Nov. 20.*—Preached extempore on the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

*Nov. 21.*—Shah Shoojah-ool Mulk, the ex-king of the Affghauns, sent for me. He told me that if he should again ascend the throne, the Padres (Missionaries) should have free access to his territories.

*Nov. 22.*—Arrived by dawk (post travelling) at Umbala, 70 miles.

*Nov. 23.*—Arrived at Kurnaul, where I again took up my abode with the Rev. Mr. Parish.

*Nov. 24.*—Saw Anand Messeeh, a converted Hindoo, of the Church Missionary Society. He is a pious man, and has thirty children in his school. Captains Cookson and Nicholson spent the evening with us.

I received a second kind letter of invitation from the Rev. Mr. Whiting, Chaplain at Meerut. He is brother-in-law to the Rev. William Jowett, late Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Malta.

*Nov. 25.*—I preached in the church of Mr. Parish, to a crowded congregation. Praise be to our Lord and our God, without whose sanctifying spirit the words of the preacher are nought.



Nov. 26.—I learn that the *Borhas*, a kind of Mussulmans, who live in Malwa near Owgine, assert that they are Israelites of the Tribe of Levi, and observe secretly the Jewish religion.

Nov. 27.—I lectured in the church, and dined in the evening with Colonel Webber.

Nov. 29.—I arrived at Meerut, and took up my abode with the Rev. Mr. Whiting; he and his lady received me with the greatest kindness.

Nov. 30.—I met a large and most friendly party invited by Mr. Whiting on my account.

December 1.—Dined in the mess-room in company with the Commander in Chief, who has given me letters for Sir Frederick Adam at Madras. I conversed with several officers about Christ.

Dec. 2.—Preached in the church, instead of the Rev. Mr. Proby, the senior Chaplain.

Dec. 3.—Dined with Colonel Oglander, and lectured in the riding school.

Dec. 5.—I was introduced to the celebrated Indian Catholic Princess Begum Sumroo at Sirdhana, near Meerut. She received me with great condescension; and I spoke to her about the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Princess made me a present of 500 rupees, which enabled me to make a repayment to my patron.

Dec. 6.—I arrived at Delhi, where I was most kindly received by Mr. Fraser, the Commissioner. In the evening I dined with the Judge, Metcalfe. The Rev. Mr. Thompson, a Baptist Missionary, called on me with a Jew, to whom I preached that Jesus is the very Christ. This Jew was a complete infidel. Mullah Ishak, a learned Mussulman, and Lajme Narien, a learned Pundit, also called.

Dec. 7.—I dined to day with the excellent Mr. Fraser, who has already given me a good deal of information about the Hindoos.

Dec. 11.—Mr. Fraser introduced me to His Majesty the Grand Moghul Akbur Shah. I was honoured with the usual *khelat* (robe of honour), and His Majesty put some false pearls about my head and neck. He also wrote me the following letter with his own hand, at the request of Mr. Fraser.

TRANSLATION OF THE AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF AKBUR SHAH, THE  
GRAND MOGHUL.

“Know you, the Rev. Mr. Wolff, the faithful and the well wisher, on whom descendeth the mercy of the high King Akbur Shah, that you who attended at this court (on which the world places reliance), represented your fidelity and the earnestness of your devotion to the presence. The *Presence*\* derived much pleasure and gratification from your knowledge and wisdom; you ought to consider yourself always enjoying the royal favour, which is blended with your happy circumstances; for the rest, think that you are honoured with the royal favour.”

\* *Presence* (Hasrat) the title of Oriental Kings,

The letter was then sent to Mr. William Fraser, who delivered it to me.

*Dec. 21.*—I again expounded the Scriptures in the house of Lieutenant Lowe, to a large congregation. The exposition was accompanied with visible blessing.

*Dec. 22.*—I preached in the British Residency.

*Dec. 23.*—I conversed with Mullah Mohammed Ishak; several thousand Mohammedans were present. After I had gone home to my room, I wrote to him a letter, in which I stated my views about Christ. He wrote me the following letter in answer. "In the name of God, the most merciful, the most pitiful God. This short answer is offered to the Reverend Mr. Joseph Wolff, on the part of Mohammed Ishak of Delhi (a follower of Mohammed), and it details certain points, which it is necessary that gentleman should be acquainted with. And I have more particularly written to you, as I consider you a lover of God, and wish these points to be impressed on your mirror-like mind, which has already received the impression of certain of God's attributes. The fact is, that I, a seeker after truth, was born in the Mohammedan faith, and have always been, and am still in it, and have hope towards God that I shall die in this faith."

"I have read the Koran, and heard the purport of the Law and the Gospel from my superiors, and know for certain that the faith of Mahomet is true. I have had more evidence of it than of my existence; and eternal salvation is not to be obtained in any other besides this faith. Therefore, with the most entire affection I have embraced it, and from my heart became a believer, and with the tongue confessed that he is the chief of those Prophets who received a new revelation of God for the guidance of mankind. God has helped certain of his people with the Holy Ghost, and He gave him such dignity as was not possessed by any creature, and therefore his title is *Hubeeb* and *Shuffee* (Beloved and Mediator), who was endowed by God with perfect power; then he departed this life; and he, Mahomet, will at the end of time mediate for the sinners among his people, when all the Prophets of every description shall first call out for mercy for themselves, and then towards their several people, to have them saved. Before his demise, Mahomet, at the call of God, went up to Heaven, and returning declared the glad tidings of Huzrut Ysa's (Jesus) coming, and Huzrut Mehdees manifestation; and the splendour of the religion of Mahomet will be so great, that the earth, being previously filled with oppression, shall be filled with justice; and the rules for guidance, according to the dispensation of the last of the Prophets, shall be promulgated. I have travelled in many countries, in Arabia, Hijaz, Yemen, Bengal, &c. with the view of propagating this faith; and that men should repent, or return and be subject to the Sunnoot, or rule of the Koran; and my reason for continuing here is the very same. And my belief is, that God is one: he has no associates, no opponent, no son, no offspring; nor has he entered into or possessed any one; nor is he united to any, and he is independent of all: in him is every attribute and perfection; not subject to decay; the Creator

of the universe; and the final Judgment is approaching; of this there is no doubt, and all the Prophets are true, and I believe in all, especially in my Prophet Mahomet (upon whom be peace); I believe he is true without a doubt, and his law is that which is to do away with every former dispensation, and he is the last of the Prophets; after him there shall be no Prophet, and he is foretold in all the former books; and he that has common sense is acquainted with this. Many thousand years ago, many Prophets prophesied of my Prophet. I have received a written declaration of your faith; and now I give you mine.

(Signed)

MOHUMMUD ISHAK."

ANSWER.

"This is the answer of Joseph Wolff.

Your letter reached my hands, and I understand by it your faith, and I was very glad to find that you have travelled about on account of truth. I ask therefore of you two things to answer me; first, what good proof can you produce that Mohammed went to heaven and returned? secondly, I should like to know those Prophets who have prophesied the prophetic mission of Mohammed the son of Abd-Ullah.

(Signed)

JOSEPH WOLFF."

SECOND LETTER OF THE GRAND MULLAH MOHAMMED ISHAK.

"In all religions there are some points of radical, and others of only collateral importance. Of the revealed religion of Moses, Christ, and Mohammed, the root consists of three parts, viz. the unity of God, a state of retribution, and the mission of Prophets. But though some admit, others deny, the divine mission of our Prophet. The Jews acknowledge the prophetic characters of Jesus, and Mohammed; but the Christians deny the latter. The Mussulmans establish the divine mission of our Prophet by numerous proofs, three of which I will state. First. That Mohammed son of Abdoollah Hushmee, of the Koreish tribe of Mecca and Medina, was a Prophet sent by God, is attested by his miracles; for whoever achieves such, is unquestionably a Prophet. From these we deduce the unavoidable conclusion, that Mohammed is the Prophet of God. He himself claimed the recognition of this, and no one denied it, or the reality of his miracles, which succeeded each other in regular series. Their reality was no more doubted than that there are such places as Constantinople, London, and Abyssinia, and such men as Hatim, Roostum, and Isfandiar. The proofs, by which their existence becomes established, are essentially the same as those on which the miracles and prophetic character of Mohammed rest. Secondly. That the Koran is from the mouth of God, is as little to be doubted, as that the Old and New Testaments and the prophecies proceed from him; for no one can deny that the composition of the Koran is without a parallel, and the past and future unfolded in it could only be from God. The Jews and Christians, opposed to its divine origin, though skilled in its

language, were unable to produce even one solitary verse similarly perfect. Indeed, up to this date A. H. 1248, no Arabian, Persian, no inhabitant of Christendom, of India or Scind, no human or super-human being, has produced a composition so perfect and surpassing. And thirdly. The divine mission is proved in numerous chapters and verses of this work, which I am ready to adduce. Moreover, many attributes belonged to the Prophet, which none else produced. His bodily strength was greatly superior to that of other men; so were his forbearance, liberality, wisdom, and trust in God; his truth, honesty in the fulfilment of promises, and his beneficence, his comprehension, capacity, justice and compassion, his comeliness of feature and complexion, fragrance of person, devotion to God, austerity and strict observance of religious rites, with divers other surpassing qualities. He too proclaimed God's Unity, and that he had neither partner nor equal; that men's first duty is prayer and giving alms in his name: he said to the poor, to relatives, to the distressed, and to holy devotees, 'Observe justice one towards another; abstain from murder, fornication, swearing and theft, chicanery and deceit, from falsehood, breach of promise, and the love of this world.' If exposed to tyranny, he commanded us to forgive the tyrants, to propitiate God by the sacrifice of animals, and to observe hospitality. Whosoever exhibits these and such like attributes must be indeed a Prophet. For instance: a certain person arriving in a city, says, "I am a physician." 'If so, reply the inhabitants, write us a book for the sick, and point out their remedies.' He does all this. His book resembles those of antecedent physicians; thousands are cured by its means and by its study. Many physicians are produced, all successful in curing. Should any of the citizens say, 'This is no physician,' the world would pronounce them to be ignorant fools; for were any one to deny that Hippocrates, Galen, Socrates and Avicenna were physicians, he would be looked upon as contemptible and mad. The proofs of their truth are not stronger than those regarding our Prophet. Again, were any one to deny that the East India Company ruled in Hindoostan, would he not be considered as ignorant and insane? Even so must that person be considered, who denies Mohammed to have been a Prophet. Our well established religion prevails in many countries and cities, and is professed by Maafus, Moulvees, learned and holy men in Arabia, Toorun, Persia, Turkey, Khorossan, India, Scind, Bokhara, Abyssinia and the Mughrah, and many souls have through its means been blessed and received forgiveness of their sins. So many learned and transcendent men appear not in support of any other creed; nor do so many valuable books, traditions, commentaries, and proofs, concur in establishing any other religion whatsoever. Should a few blind men assert that the sun has not risen, because they have not seen him, would any one place reliance on their word? No, let their blindness be cured, and the sun becomes visible. Our religion is no less clear than his light. The words of our Prophet are acknowledged as true; why then doubt of his ascent to and return from heaven? Antece-



dent Prophets foretold his coming upon earth; why then deny that his mission was divine?

“What proofs, let me ask, have you that Jesus was the Son of God? In many works it is stated that this implies merely his proximity to and approach by God. Is Jesus, I would ask, of the same nature as God? If he be, then can he be no other than God! But it is acknowledged that God existed from eternity, and was not produced or born; now Jesus was born. If you say, he was born of the Holy Ghost; still he was produced, and cannot therefore be self-existent, or equal to it. Whether then is Jesus born of God, the Holy Ghost, or the Virgin Mary? If Jesus was not of the same nature as God, how could he be the son of God. Again, was Jesus the property, or not, of God? If the property, he could not be the son, these two being distinct and different. Did Jesus necessarily proceed from God, or not? If necessarily, then was God subject to the necessity of appearing upon earth; but to him necessity attaches not. And if Jesus necessarily came, did he so for his own or for God’s glory and perfection? If for God’s, then was God imperfect; and to him imperfection cleaves not. If for his own perfection, then was Jesus imperfect. If Jesus was born, as you say, of the Holy Spirit, and the meaning of the Holy Spirit be Jesus, then was he born of himself. If Jesus was born of Gabriel, then was he the son of that Angel, and of Mary, but not of God. If Jesus was to God as life to man’s body, as you declare, then must he have been God himself. Finally, what proof have you that Jesus is the last of the Prophets?”

## ANSWER.

“This answer to Mulvee Mohammed Ishak.

The root of Christ’s religion is the unity of God, the *Incarnation of the Son of God* (John i.), and a state of retribution. The Jews neither acknowledge the prophetic character of Jesus, nor of Mohammed; as you can convince yourself by reading their rabbinical writings. You prove the divine mission of Mohammed by his *numerous miracles*. I answer, ‘Why are they not even recorded in the Koran?’ Secondly, that the composition of the Koran is without a parallel, I heard even denied by the learned Mohammedan scholars of Sheeras; besides this, it can never be proved, for it is a matter of taste. Thirdly, even an untruth may be written in a fine composition.

You prove thirdly his divine mission from the Koran, which has no authority with Christians, and therefore you make a *circulus vitiosus*. Goliath, a wicked man, had a bodily strength far superior to others. All the rest of the qualities which you mention, do not prove him to be a Prophet; for such qualities other people may have, and had, without having made claim to the prophetic office. His book resembled not those of the antecedent Physicians, as you call them, either Jesus or Moses. Buddhism is more numerous than Mohammedanism; numbers in a sect do not prove any thing. That the learned men of the Europeans excel in the advancement

of arts and sciences, is admitted even by the Mohammedans. You ask me what proofs I have that Jesus is the Son of God. I reply, that he was predicted to be so centuries before, in the Psalms of David, and the rest of the Old Testament, believed by the Mohammedans; and that it implies a person born of the Holy Ghost, one with God, and in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwelt. With regard to the way and manner in which this was possible, I do not pretend to explain; for it would be the greatest presumption of a *finite creature*, to try to explain the *infinite ways* of God.

Finally, you ask, 'What proof have you, *that Jesus is the last of the Prophets?*' Whether the Lord will raise other Prophets after Christ, is a question I have nothing to do with; one thing is certain, that all the Prophets spoke only of the coming of that Just One (Acts vi. 52.); and that Jesus is the end of the Law (Rom. x. iv.); and that if other Prophets were to come, or even an Angel from heaven, to preach another Gospel than that of Jesus, I should be obliged to call him accursed (Galatians i. 8, 9.); and therefore I cannot believe in Mohammed."

Knowing how the operations of a Missionary are frequently misrepresented by worldly people, I insert the following letters as a refutation of such prejudices.

REV. MR. THOMPSON.

The Rev. Mr. Thompson, Baptist Missionary, a very active, well informed, judicious, and zealous Missionary, beloved by every one, most kindly assisted me in all my Missionary pursuits. He wrote the following letters to my wife; to which I add some others, written by godly people of other denominations, in order to prove, that people who love the Lord Jesus Christ, will be united, let them bear whatever name they please; and that, though one may be attached from principle to one communion more than to another, as soon as one loves the Lord, the differences in minor points are soon forgotten, well knowing that in the garden of God, i. e. in the Church of Christ, there are flowers of different colours.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE REV. MR. THOMPSON.

*Delhi, December 9, 1832.*

To the Right Hon. Lady Georgiana Wolff.

May it please your Ladyship.

It having been intimated to me by my esteemed brother in the Gospel, and coadjutor in the Missionary work, that it would give your Ladyship pleasure to hear from me; I sit down to the pleasing task, or rather avail myself of the privilege of addressing your Ladyship, just after a most reviving season of public worship, conducted by my worthy brother. But I confess, I know not where to begin. Mr. Wolff gladdened our station with his presence last Thursday, when I was very happy to embrace him; and after an introduction to my family, he solicited, and we had prayer, and reading, and singing together; and then he took some little refreshment as he seemed faint. I then walked with him to his lodgings

at the Residency, where our Commissioner, Mr. W. Fraser, had assigned him a suite of rooms; and as he was that night to dine with the Judge, Mr. Metcalfe, (who had kindly invited him, and indeed asked him to live with him,) I left him. Next day I was early with him, and we had prayer together, when, as well as on the former occasions, your Ladyship and beloved child, were humbly but ardently remembered at the throne of grace. In the forenoon, Mr. Wolff delivered his first lecture, and it was an interesting one to all. About eighty gentlemen and ladies were present, and expressed the highest satisfaction. I believe the general effect was to move and constrain unbelievers to believe in revelation, and to confirm the faithful. Next day (yesterday), the second lecture on his travels was delivered; and it was animating in a high degree. We were almost conveyed to the scenes described, and made, in spite of ourselves, to rejoice and be sorry, as he and your Ladyship (for your Ladyship was introduced on this day) happened to be elevated or depressed by the circumstances of the journey. Very vivid indeed were the descriptions given by our indefatigable traveller; and when he took us through countries, once the scenes of Scripture history, he made (as he expressed it) a shudder of reverence to possess our souls. He really has adduced (and those of good memory will retain it) *a host of evidence* in favour of revelation. Two more lectures are to be delivered, and I hope their effect will be correspondent. But in the attendance at public worship our dear brother was gratified beyond all expectation; about ninety attended, although clergymen have come over from Meerut but occasionally, and not had more than a dozen, and often two hearers, besides those the house afforded where worship was held. And even in cantonments, where there are three regiments with European officers, and divine service is performed by the Brigade Major, not more than ten or twelve attend. I only hope the interest so happily excited for religion may continue in the minds of some at least.

This evening Mr. Wolff is engaged to have worship for me at my house, when a select number of friends are to meet him, and enjoy an hour afterwards with him in profitable conversation.

I can hardly express to your Ladyship the esteem in which Mr. Wolff is held by all descriptions of people, and the place he has in the affection of his Christian friends. While he remains any where, he has their attentions; and when he departs, he carries their prayers with him.

Christian Lady, permit me to tender my dear partner's and all our children's respectful regards to your Ladyship, with our prayers for your's and honoured husband's and child's happiness here and hereafter, and to remain

Your Ladyship's sincere and obedient servant,

(Signed)

JOHN THOMAS THOMPSON, Missionary.

P. S. Mr. Fraser having previously engaged Mr. Wolff, he could not make my house his home; but before he goes, he intends spending a few days with us.

LETTER FROM THE SAME, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LADY  
GEORGIANA WOLFF.

May it please your Ladyship.

My dear brother Wolff having, in reply to a communication of his, received the accompanying Persian Declaration of Faith, and statement from the chief Moulvee of this city, Moulvee Ishaac, *he now insists* I should forward the same paper to your Ladyship, and will admit of no excuse. Your Ladyship must be aware that Mr. Wolff's wishes are with some considered as commands, and therefore I hesitate not to obey or fulfil this desire; but in so doing, I beg your Ladyship's indulgence for the badness of the paper, writing, &c. &c. and hope the errors of the translation will be overlooked, as I was never allowed time to revise it. Since my last to your Ladyship, my esteemed brother has concluded his valuable lectures with great effect; and given to the European community several serious and animated discourses, obtaining large congregations among those who were generally apathetic. In private too, a number of Christian friends have been delighted by his recitals, his prayers, and his Christian spirit. At the Residency, two days ago, Mr. Wolff had a fine body of Moulvees and other Mahometans to hear him, and he really managed the disputes admirably well, and with excellent temper. To-day Mr. W. was overjoyed at receiving your Ladyship's ever welcome letter of the 2nd of August; and we both knelt down, and returned our best thanks to Almighty God our Preserver, and your Ladyship's and young Drummond's; and with my humble prayers that Mr. Wolff may soon be restored to your Ladyship and his child, and dissipate your Ladyship's gloom; and that God may hold over your Ladyship's child the shield of his power, surround your Ladyship's dwelling as with a wall of fire, and place beneath your Ladyship and child the everlasting arms of his mercy; and my hope that I and mine too may be remembered in your Ladyship's prayer,

I remain, your Ladyship's humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN THOMAS THOMPSON, Missionary.

20th December, 1832.

LETTER FROM THE REV. WILLIAM PARISH, CHAPLAIN AT KURNAUL,  
TO THE RIGHT HON. LADY GEORGIANA WOLFF.

*Kurnaul near Delhi, Sept. 15, 1832.*

Dear Madam,

Your Ladyship, I am sure, will be glad to hear that the Rev. Mr. Wolff has visited this station of the Hon. Company's territory, in the N. W. of Hindoostan. He came from Simla in the mountains, where he had been on a visit for some time, to the Right Hon. the Governor General, and Lady W. Bentinck, and arrived at my Bungalow on the morning of the 31st August, and continued with me till the evening of the 4th September, when he again returned to the hills; having obtained the permission of the Maharajah, Runjeet Singh, the Potentate of Lahore, to proceed by Cashmeer into Little Thibet. I cannot tell you how pleased both



myself and Mrs. Parish were, to have so devoted a servant of our Lord under our roof. We regretted exceedingly that his stay with us was so short; but short as it was, he has, I trust, made an impression on the minds of some, which will be blessed to them; inasmuch as, like the Bereans of old, they will be more diligent in attending to the word of God, and search the Scriptures, to know if the things he addressed to them are so. All the British residents here were deeply interested, and no doubt edified, both by his preaching and lecturing. He preached twice on the Sabbath, opening the Scriptures to a crowded congregation in our church Bungalow, concerning the promises of a Saviour, as given by the mouth of Patriarchs and Prophets, and how Christ had completed his first advent in a state of humiliation. He showed his three fold character of Prophet, Priest, and King, and enlarged boldly on the future glories of his second advent, which he strikingly contrasted with his first. The passages he brought to bear on this point were numerous and apposite, giving a turn to some texts, very satisfactory in the elucidation of his subject, which I do not remember seeing so applied before. The signs of the times he has also dwelt upon; warning his audience of the near approach of our Lord, who will consume that wicked one with the spirit of his mouth, and will destroy him with the brightness of his coming.

He also gratified us with three lectures, comprising a summary of his travels. In the course of them he shewed the fulfilment of several prophecies by the present state of many of the people he fell in with, and by the destruction of places once famous in the annals of the world. He gave us also an affecting account of the deprivations and perils he endured and passed through, which excited the sympathy of all. He remarked that his prayer to God, in times of his real exigency, was uniformly most graciously answered. This observation, I am glad to say, was particularly noticed by his hearers; for since Mr. Wolff's departure, I have heard many speak very reverently of it, as showing the great degree of faith possessed by our dear friend, which could alone strengthen and encourage him in travelling in such an undisguised manner, through countries antichristian, and enslaved by the powers of spiritual darkness.

Mr. Wolff, when he arrived at my Bungalow, thinking it unlikely that the Lahore Potentate would comply with his wish, viz. to be allowed to go into Cashmeer, had intended to proceed down to Calcutta, and from thence into the Indian Peninsula. He brought with him a large packet of letters of introduction to the Chiefs and most respectable persons at the different stations, which he would visit in his progress. His numerous friends at the beautiful hot-weather retreat, Simla, had provided them for him. It is indeed to be regretted that this ulterior intention of his could not be effected; for no doubt, under the blessing of the Lord, he would have stirred up people's minds to give heed to the word of truth, and have excited in them a desire to become better acquainted with

Scripture. In a climate like India, which induces both mental and physical inactivity, a stimulus is required to rouse even mere ordinary reflection, especially with respect to religious subjects.

Since Mr. Wolff left Kurnaul, we have had the pleasure of hearing from him at Sabathoo. He had not suffered in health, I am happy to say, by his descent into the plains, though he visited them in the very worst month of the year, when the heat and humidity are excessive, and the body severely tried by this ordeal.

I can assure your Ladyship that our highly esteemed friend has gone with the best wishes of all in this station, that his health may be continued to him, and that success may crown his researches in behalf of his own interesting people.

In order that your Ladyship may not consider me intrusive by this letter, I must just observe, that it is at Mr. Wolff's own request I have addressed you. I am with Christian regards,

Madam, your very faithful humble servant,

(Signed)

WILLIAM PARISH,

Chaplain at Kurnaul.

*Dec. 24.*—I was introduced by Mr. Fraser to His Royal Highness the heir presumptive to the fallen throne of Timur. He is a well informed gentleman, and asked me a great many questions about the different Persian manuscripts which I had met with in Toorkestaun, and about the state of the country.

*Dec. 25.*—I expounded the Scriptures in the house of Mr. Banes, a Greek gentleman, married to a daughter of Mr. Loemle, a German, who has now lived above forty years in India.

#### CHARACTER OF WILLIAM FRASER, ESQ.

This gentleman is beyond all doubt one of the most interesting persons I ever met with; he has been in India for many years, and has made himself acquainted, not only with the literature of the Hindoos and Mussulmans of Hindoostaun, but likewise with their character, customs, and manners, and sympathizes with their condition. I one day was with him, when several of the Zemindars (land owners) were sitting upon the ground: "These are the people, (he observed,) whom I cherish; for we oppress them, which we have no right to do." He wears a beard, and lives almost as abstemiously as a Hindoo, and occupies himself with the antiquities of Delhi. Through him I got likewise the following accounts from a Mussulman about Delhi; for though the history of that town is known to English writers, I wished to be informed how the Mussulmans treat the history of their fallen empire, and therefore I communicate herewith verbatim the information I received about the town from a Mussulman Mullah, a friend of Mr. Fraser's.

#### HISTORY OF DELHI.

On Wednesday the 12th of the holy month Rhumazaun, in the year 771 of the Hegirah,\* Ameer Timoor (Tamerlan) was King of

\* Which was in the year 1355 A. C.

Balkh; and in the year of Hegirah 780,\* having conquered Delhi, became King thereof; and after issuing coin, and causing himself to be prayed for in the mosques, he returned back again.

In the year of the Hegirah 932,† Zahar Addeen Mohammed Baboor, the grandson of Ameer Timoor, having conquered Hindoostan, fixed his capital at Agra, and died after a reign of five years. His son Nussur Uddeen Mohammed Homayoon, after reigning ten years at Agra, was expelled from Hindoostan by Sheer Shah the Affghaun; he fled from Sinah, and Cabool, and Candahar, to Persia. After fourteen years (in 962), returning to Hindoostan, he became King.

The most potent instrument in conquering a kingdom is the sword; but the Hindoos having received rank, and consequence, and wealth, from Chugutai rulers, such as they never had received before from their own Kings, the Chugutai, in consequence of this policy, maintained themselves in the country.

In the time of Ukbur Shah, Hindoostan extended on the East to the Soobahs of Bengal, and Orissa; on the South to Soobah and Khandes, and the fort of Aseer and Guzerat; and in the latter periods of the empire, according to the assertion of Sheikh Abul Fuzl, and his son Sheikh Abduruhman, and of the Khan i Khanan, an historical book, composed by Abdoor Ruhum Khan, Ahmud Nuggur was added to the kingdom; and Nizam Shah of Dawlat-Abad, Adil Shah of Beyapoor, and Kootal Shah of Hyderabad were tributaries.

No further acquisitions in the Duckhun were made in the time of Jehaangeer, on account of the prudence of Molich Umbar Habashee, the Minister of Nizam Shah of Dawlat-Abad. In the Punjaub, the fort of Kangurah alone was taken. In the reign of Shah Jehaan, the furthest bounds of the province of Bengal, as well as that of Kampoop, were subdued, and were as much under the authority of the empire as the Purgunahs of the Dooab. On the South, the Soobahs‡ of Burar and Tulingan came under the royal sway.

By the advice of Futteh Khan, son of Mullah Umbar Habashee, the fort of Dawlat-Abad was taken by Mahabut Khan. Zuman Beg of Cabool, the King of Beyapoor and Hyderabad paid a yearly tribute.

In the reign of Arungzeeb, Meer Mohammed Sweejood of Ispahan reduced Cutch Buhar, Assam, and Koraganon. The Emeer Oalomah Nuwab Shalinah Khan conquered Chatgan and the country of the Burmese, and annexed them to the royal dominions: he conquered the kingdoms of Beyapoor, and of Abool Hussun Zannashah of Hyderabad; he took the country of the Seiks and Maharrattas; he reduced Purtantigurh, and many other cities and forts, as Madras, Arcot, &c.; he even freed the inhabitants of Bombay from the oppression of the Africans, and exacted tribute from Ranee Kamranee. The royal authority was established in Ceylon. Even the King's son has been seen there.

\* 1364 A. C.

† 1616 A. C.

‡ *Soobah* means district.

In the reign of Behador Shah, the power of the King experienced a little check by some of the Rajpoot Chiefs, who were the commandants of Satara, surrendering it to the Mahrattas at the instigation of Ajeet Singh the Rajah of Rathour, and the Zamindar of Jodhepore.

The same Ajeet Singh and Rajah of Jyepore left the royal army on the banks of the Nerbudeba, and expelled the officers of the royal army in consequence of Behador Shah having assigned their country for the payment of the troops. The reduction of his royal brother Kam Ban was of the first importance to Behador Shah; he marched to Hyderabad and settled the affair. As the insurrection of the Seiks in the Punjaub raised great disturbances in the ancient country, His Majesty gave up the capture of the forts in the Deccan, and proceeded to the reduction of the Punjaub. On the road to Ajmeere, the Rajah of Abnere and Jodhepore, having come very humbly with their hands tied, received the royal pardon. He then proceeded to the Punjaub, massacred the Seiks, and having crushed their rebellion, he died.

In the reign of Furrukh Seer, Ajeet Singh the Rajah of Jodhepore entertained plans of rebellion. The Ameer Oolomra, Nuwab Syud Hoossein Ale Khan, was charged with the punishment of Ajeet Singh, and he did punish the Rajpoot signally, by a terrible massacre. Ajeet Singh's daughter was sent to the royal seraglio; he then marched towards the Deccan, and reduced the refractory people in that country. The empire was then in the height of its glory, so much so, that Mr. John Sarman, the English gentleman, and Khoja Surmud the Cashmeerian, applied for the renewal of the Mafee Sunnud (rent free grant). They represented that the Governor of Bengal required the production of the original royal grant, stating that he did not consider the copy attested by the Rajah's seal as a valid document. They further applied for forty Beejahs of land in the Soobah of Bengal, and forty in Behar for factories, and for a few villages near Calcutta, at a fixed rent, yielding an annual sum of 7000 rupees.

They requested further, that royal coinage might be circulated at Bombay. These requests were complied with, and a free grant was made. Furrukhsheer received martyrdom by the hands of the Vizier Ameer Oolomra; and the whole empire was weakened, and remained till the third year of Mohammed Shah's reign, during which period Ajeet Singh continued in rebellion and refused to give up Ajmere, brought out of the palace his daughter, the consort of Furrukhsheer after his martyrdom, together with jewels &c. to the value of three Crous (millions) of rupees, which he refused to surrender; and Rajah Sahoo, son of Sumbha, the Sovereign of Poonah, further refused to pay the tribute.

After Moobazur Oolmulk Nuwab Sarbaland Khan, for the chastisement of Ajeet Singh, and the reduction of the whole country of Ajmeere and Jodhepore, Ajeet Singh was duly punished, and brought to Mohammed Shah; Surbaland Khan was exalted to the Soobadarship of Ahmedabad in Goojrat. The Mahrattas were



subdued, Hegirah 1146 (A. D. 1730), which circumstances raised the glory of the empire to such an eminence, that nothing beyond it can be conceived. After the supercessions, Sarbaland Khan, in the government of Goojrat, by the nomination of Abhy Singh, commonly called Darkhul Singh, the Rajah and Zemindar of Judehpore in his room, the insurrection of the Mahrattas assumed a more serious aspect. The whole of the Sabah of Khandeish and Malwa was lost by the devastations committed by the Mahrattas. After this, the invasion of Nadir Shah took place, which introduced utter confusion into the empire.

#### DEPARTURE FROM DELHI.

*Dec. 26.*—I lectured in the house of the Rev. Mr. Thompson; after my friend the Rev. Mr. Whiting had a few days before lectured in the same house. In the evening, Captain Roxborough and other kind friends accompanied me to the palanquin, and I set out for Agra.

*Dec. 27.*—I arrived at Allyghur, where I resided in the house of Mr. Stirling the Collector, who has been as far as Sarakhs in Toorkestaun.

*Dec. 29.*—I arrived at Agra, formerly the capital of the Grand Moghul. I lived in the house of Mr. Laing, and preached in the church, at the request of the Rev. Doctor Parish.

*Dec. 31, and Jan. 1, 1833.*—I gave lectures to the whole station.

*Jan. 2.*—I took a view of the celebrated Taaj, a tomb built by a former Moghul for his beloved wife. Others have given a description of it; it is not my object to call my reader's attention much to the consideration of the tomb of a Mohammedan Queen, however beautiful, however magnificent; but to bring him upon the wings of contemplation to that tomb where the Saviour did lie; and even not to rest there, but to soar up in spirit to Him, who ascended up on high, who led captivity captive.

*Jan. 4.*—I proceeded to Mynpooree, where I lived with Captain Ward, the son-in-law of the pious Baptist Missionary Ward of Serampore, and lectured there to the station, and preached on Sunday.

*Jan. 7.*—I set out for Furrukhabad, commonly called Futtehghur, where I resided with the Hon. Mr. Shore. In the evening I lectured in the church.

*Jan. 9.*—I went to see the Mussulman college, which is protected and partly supported by the British government. I gave them the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in Hindoostanee. They shewed me a book written in Arabic, according to which Jesus and Mohde are to appear 22 years hence.

*Jan. 10.*—I dined with the Commissioner, and set out for Cawn-pore, where I arrived on the 11th January. I took up my abode with Lieutenant Conolly, who has travelled in Affghanistaun, and has published his interesting travels. I met with Lieutenant Tod, a gentleman of talents and piety: he is now in Persia.

*Jan. 12.*—I lectured to a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen in the assembly rooms.

*Jan. 13.*—I preached in one of the officer's tents in the cantonments, and in the church in the evening, or rather in a little Bungalow used as a church; *for whilst the Court of Directors have shewn themselves very zealous in rebuilding and repairing idolatrous temples, they have been too remiss in erecting churches in the several stations.*

*Jan. 14, and 15.*—I lectured again in the assembly room.

*Jan. 18.*—I disputed with the Mohammedans in the assembly room, in the presence of Sir Jeremiah and Lady Bryant, who had just arrived from Meerut, and many other English gentlemen.

*Jan. 20.*—I preached again twice in the church, and set out for Lucknow.

*Jan. 21.*—I arrived at Lucknow in the British residency, and was most kindly received by Major and Mrs. Low, the accredited Resident at the court of the King of Oude, who resides at Lucknow.

The very first moment of my arrival at Lucknow, English and French ladies and gentlemen were assembled in the British residency, to whom I gave a lecture on the 22nd, to-day, and so I did on the 23d.

*Jan. 25.*—I dined with Doctor Clarkson, whose lady is a sister-in-law to Mr. Connor, late Missionary to the Church Missionary Society.

#### PRESENTATION TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF OUDE.

*Jan. 26.*—I was introduced to His Majesty the King of Oude. He embraced both Captain Paton, who introduced me, and myself. I conversed with him in Persian about the object of my mission.

His Majesty made me a present of 10,000 rupees, equivalent to £1000 sterling. This compensated me for the loss I had sustained by sending my money to Messrs Makintosh & Co., which house soon after failed; and what I had intended for the reimbursement to my benefactors, was thus entirely lost.

His Majesty told me that he would appoint a day when he would assemble the Mullahs, and hear my faith discussed, and have a narrative of my journey.

On my return to the British residency, I met with the Jew Raphael Cohen, born in Aleppo, to whom I proclaimed the Gospel of our Lord Jesus. After having argued with him for a short time, he admitted that Jesus was the Messiah.

*Jan. 29.*—I preached again on the prophecies respecting the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. In these lectures I demonstrated: 1. The necessity of studying the word of prophecy. 2. Of understanding the prophecies literally. 3. The establishment of Christ's kingdom upon earth. 4. Restoration of the Jews to their own land, and their conversion to Christ. 5. The resurrection of the saints. 6. The personal appearance of Elijah. 7. The rebuilding of the temple. 8. Judgments upon all nations.

*Jan. 30.*—I disputed with the Mussulmans of the Sheah persuasion; they shewed me Genesis xvii. 20: "Twelve princes shall he beget;" those twelve princes, Moulvee Emeer Sayd Mohamud said, were the twelve Imams, venerated by the Mussulmans,

who are the followers of Ali. I replied that we know from history that the Arabs had counted twelve Princes before the time of the Imams; but even if this was the case, it only shews that our Scriptures are true, which predicted the events; but it does not prove that those twelve Imams were the teachers of true religion. I then called on the Prime Minister, who has the title of Rooshne Dawlat, i. e. "Light of the State;" several Affghauns were present, who asserted that they were the descendants of the Children of Israel.

Jan. 31.—Several Mussulmans called on me, and wished to be instructed in the Christian religion. I proclaimed to them Jesus Christ, and Him crucified. *The Mussulman Mullahs are in possession of the Arabic Bible, and the Persian New Testament of Henry Martyn; they have marked passages with red ink throughout, which proves that they had been reading it diligently.* One of the Mussulman Mullahs sent me the following objection: "How was it possible, that Jesus, who was so holy, could go to hell?" A Mussulman who sat just by me, said, "You will do well to answer him, that the Hadees relate of Mohammed, that he went to hell, and saw his father in a sea of fire; and you can prove to them the contradiction contained in the Koran: in one passage it is said that the day of judgment shall last 1000 years, and in another passage 50,000 years."

CONFERENCE WITH THE MUSSULMAN MULLAHS IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF OUDE, HIS WHOLE COURT, AND THE BRITISH RESIDENTS.

Feb. 2.—This was a delightful day! At 11 o'clock in the morning, Emaum Bakhsh, the Meer Daha, i. e. Master of the ceremonies, came to the British residency, and announced to Major Low, in the name of His Majesty, that His Majesty was expecting me for the purpose of hearing my lectures delivered in the Persian tongue, and my discussion with the Moulvees, (as the Mullahs are called here.) I went in the carriage with Captain Paton, Sir Jeremiah and Lady Bryant in a Palanquin, and Major Low in another carriage; on reaching the steps leading to the hall of audience, we found the King seated in his Tonjaun, a sort of sedan chair, at the base, that being the spot prescribed by etiquette for him to meet the British Minister, who got into the Tonjaun with him, and they were carried up the stairs together. We entered a large hall, where all the Moulvees were seated on chairs. Emeer Sayd Ahmed, the Mujtehed of the Sheah, occupied the first seat. His Majesty seated himself upon a royal couch, a beautiful crown upon his head, and clothed in royal robes. Major Low was seated at his right hand, and near Major Low sat Lady Bryant; I sat at His Majesty's left hand. I then rose, made proper reverence, and stated the reasons of my belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of my Missionary journeys. I cited the 53d chapter of Isaiah; all the Mullahs opened their Bibles, and I then stated my belief in the most glorious Trinity. A discussion took place about Isaiah xxi., by which the Mullahs wanted to shew the prophetic office of Mohammed, by the words

“Burden upon Arabia,” which is translated in the Arabic Bible, “Prophecy in Arabia:” but I proved to them that it means, “A prophecy predicting a calamity upon Arabia.” In the evening, after dinner, I expounded at Major Low’s, Galatians v. 26, in the presence of Sir Jeremiah and Lady Bryant.

#### SKETCHES OF LUCKNOW.

The ancient name of Lucknow is Lucknampore; the population of Lucknow consists of 200,000 inhabitants: Sheahs, Soonnees and Hindoos. It is not known by whom it was founded. The public buildings are: Imamporah,\* a mosque built by the late Vizier Asoofa Dawla. Imamporah of Nujuf Ashrefee, built by the late King, in which he is buried. The Mausoleum of the mother of Nawab Saadat Ale Khan. The Mausoleum of the Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. The Palace of the King. The British residency. Constantia house, built 1790 to 1804. It derives its name of Constantia from General Martin’s motto, “Labore et constantia.”

The principal Mullahs at Lucknow are: Sayd Mohammed, Moulvee Ibrahim, Moulvee Sukur Ullah, Moulvee Ismael, who is the principal native astronomer.

The country of Oude was separated from the kingdom of Delhi, in the time of the Vizier of Shooja, Addawla.

The following is a copy of the autograph letter of the King of Oude, previous to my conference with the Mullahs; he wrote it in English and in Persian.

“His Majesty cannot refrain from expressing to the Rev. Joseph Wolff the pleasure that he derived from his visit.

“His Majesty being satisfied of Mr. Wolff’s talents, and anxious to learn an account of the countries and holy places he had visited, would wish that he remained here for a short time; but as his departure is so prompt, His Majesty bids him farewell, wishing the Rev. Joseph Wolff every prosperity and happiness.”

“The above is the copy of the hand-writing of H. M. the King of Oude.”

(Signed)

J. PATON.

*Lucknow, February 3, 1833.*

*Feb. 3.*—I preached in the British residency. After the service was over, three Mussulmans called, and desired instruction in Christianity.

Before I went away, the Mussulman Moulvees of Lucknow wrote me the following letter in Persian, which I left by chance in the British residency, and received it only when at Madras, to which place it was sent after me in the month of August.

The letter was written by Emeer Sayd Ahmed, Mujtehed of the Sheah.

“I have received your second epistle, and perused its contents. You say that it is mentioned in the 8th chapter of Daniel, that

\* Imamporah, means a place for an Imam, i. e. follower of Mohammed.



Christ would descend upon earth, after two thousand three hundred years from the time of Daniel, which was 453 years before Christ; that having deducted 453 from 2300, there remained 1847; and the present year is 1833, from which the latter sum having been deducted there remained 14 years, which is the period of Christ's coming.

*First.* In the above quotation the name of Christ is not mentioned, nor is Christ's coming alluded to. On what ground have you therefore assumed, that it has reference to that event? In the first place, state fully by what arguments you bring this as a proof of Christ's coming, and also detail fully how you prove your argument from the Ram, the He-Goat, the first high horn, the four other horns; and the country, and what the things are to which they refer, that it may be known how this is applicable to the coming of Christ.

*Secondly.* As to your writing that the time of Daniel was 453 years before that of Christ, we have nothing to do with the intervening period; the object is to fix the period which intervened between the time of Daniel seeing the vision, and the commencement of the Christian era. It appears from the translation of some English books which have been printed, that the distance from Daniel to the Christian era was 535 or 36 or 37 years; this is evidently not in accordance with your argument, because if the least of these doubtful periods be added to 1833, the number will be 2368; there is no ground therefore for waiting only 14 years more; for the period of Daniel's vision being past, nay, 68 years more have elapsed; and as Christ has not yet made his appearance, it is evident that Daniel's vision has no reference to him, otherwise he should have appeared at the end of that period, or near it; and if connection with that period is not necessary, his coming may be at the resurrection. You say that it is written in the book of Daniel, that Christ will come in 2300 years; it is not so in the chapter already quoted; it mentions 2300 days, and not years, which makes a great difference. You mentioned at one meeting, that 'days' means years; this is not the case. If such should be the interpretation in one or two places, it is of rare occurrence and metaphorical, and not as a plain fact; to assume a fact to be metaphorical, is not allowed to any but to one who is apt to make an interpretation which suits his own purpose.

*Thirdly.* To fix years is contrary to the words of Christ, for it is written in the 24th chapter of Matthew, verse 36, "But of that day and hour knows no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my father only." You said in answer to this, at the conference, that the meaning of this verse is, that no one knows the day and hour except God, but it does not say that the year cannot be known. This is surprising, because the first and last period define the day and hour also as it does the year. If the people of the present age do not know the day, those that lived in those times knew it, and the angels certainly know it. How can therefore the saying of Christ, that even angels are not aware of it, be correct?

The mention of day and hour in the said quotation is by way of example, and the meaning is, that the period cannot be fixed at all. For instance, if it is said that nobody knows the day of judgment, it does not follow that the year and month of that event is known, but not the day; this is often used in colloquial discourse. Besides, let it be as you say, that day means year; Christ must also have meant by day, year.

*Fourthly.* Admitting your assumption to be correct; when there are 14 years remaining of Christ's coming, has the promised Prophet from the Arabians and the descendants of Kedar, foretold in the Old Testament, already appeared, or will there be a Prophet within these 14 years? If the former be the case, and our Prophet was not meant thereby, who is it else to whom the prophecy has reference? If the latter be the case, say fully whether there will be any true Prophet in Arabia except Christ, within these 14 years. Although there are many prophecies, yet to avoid lengthening the discourse, a few are mentioned by way of example.

1st prophecy, Isaiah xxi. Here it is mentioned that "he saw a chariot of camels with a couple of horsemen, a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels, and he hearkened diligently with much heed." In this prophecy, Christ and our Prophet are plainly alluded to, because the use of a camel for conveyance has been customary in Arabia; it is also written at the conclusion, "And behold here cometh a chariot of horsemen, and he answered and said, "Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen, and all the graven images of her gods he has broken unto the ground." It is well known that the breaking of images has particular reference to our Prophet, who was created by the powerful hand of God. Can any prophecy be more clear than this?

2nd prophecy. It is written in the same chapter of Isaiah: "The mighty men of the Children of Kedar shall be diminished." This is a plain demonstration in favour of the prophetic character of Mohammed, because Kedar is his ancestor.

3d prophecy. In the Gospel of John is written with reference to his mission, "There is another that bears witness of me, and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true;" John v. 32. This alludes to the testimony of the last of the Prophets (Mohammed) in favour of Christ.

4th prophecy. John i. 26, 27, and Matt. iii. 11, is also a convincing proof in favour of a Prophet greater than Christ; and who else but our Prophet is endowed with such attributes?

5th prophecy. In the Revelation of John, at the end of the second chapter, Rev. ii. 26, 27, is in favour of the mission of Mohammed, who vanquished with the sword in religious wars; and it is probable that it may have reference to the reign of Mohde.

The Mohammedans agree in saying that at the end of the world he will make war against infidels, and convert all sects to Islamism. Jesus Christ will also descend at the time, and precede him. In this case also this prophecy confirms the prophecy of Mohammed's mission.

As to your combining Matt. xxiv. and xxv. with the Revelations of St. John in support of the approaching appearance of Christ, there are two ways in combating that argument. The signs which you take for granted, are either of those upon which Christ's appearance rests: in this case, Christ ought to appear now, for these signs have happened; or else other signs are required, the occurrence of which will determine the appearance of Christ, (which we wish for and expect,) and it will be cotemporary with the appearance of Imam Mohde; but how can the remaining signs take place within this limited period? Beside this, certain signs mentioned in Matthew are very doubtful. "There will be wars and rumours of wars, nations will rise against nations." Such has been the case ever since Mohammedanism has spread. There have been revolutions, and changes, and wars in all ages, and in all countries. Persons conversant with history, know that in the times of Tamerlan, Halakoo, and Nadir, great wars broke out, vast numbers were killed, and empires overturned. The selection of examples made to this effect, and which we have read in the newspapers, are not argumentative; because to give weight to a sign, it is requisite that it should be accompanied with the thing connected with it. These changes have always taken place, agreeably to the saying that the world is changeable; they have no particular reference to your object, nor have they any thing to do with the signs. In the same chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, there is another part of which it is unknown why you omitted to make mention. "These rumours are the beginning of affliction;" then will they involve you in hardship, and give you up to death to the end. Christians are at present in the height of their glory and power, how can this be reconciled with the signs? The truth is, that it has happened in every age, that one nation has triumphed over another, and the world has frequently experienced anarchy, yet in various degrees. Those which you constitute as signs, should bear no resemblance to those that have preceded. But those events which have occurred in these times, cannot be said to have been in any high degree contrasted with past occurrences; on the contrary, former events have exceeded in importance those of the present age. Since therefore these events cannot be made applicable to the coming of Christ, how can they be taken for signs, unless it is said, that all signs are typical of Christ's appearance, without reference to any particular sign; and that the multiplication of these signs shall consist in wars, famine, pestilence, &c.

The second point embraces two things:

1. The spreading of the good news by the angel flying in all the countries of the earth; and next, the darkening of the sun. To this it is answered, that it is unreasonable to argue, that by the spreading of the good news, the propagation of the Gospel is meant; and why should it not be allowed, that the heavenly voice would be heard at the coming of God's elect, as is fully described in our traditionary books, with reference to Imaum Mohde? Besides, the

dissemination of the Gospel has not depended upon you, it has been circulated throughout the world for a long time.

On what ground do you call the New Testament the Word of God? If you say that it is actually the Word of God, without the participation of any one; every person that has seen these Gospels, knows that they are either the word of Christ or of his Apostles, and not the word of God. If you mean that they have been inspired by God, the thing is possible; but in this case, the same will be applicable to the books of all the Prophets, and to the Old Testament, which will be taken for granted; and they will metaphorically be called heavenly books, contrary to the Koran, which every one on reading finds to be the word of God, from the manner in which it is composed, particularly with reference to its elegance, and perspicuity, and strength.

The darkening of the sun and moon is evident, because the sun is the greatest of all planets, and the moon is a planet of the first heaven; they will certainly lose their light. To suppose thereby the overturning of any kingdom, and of a particular place, which you fully described in your letter, is unreasonable. To bring as evidence Joseph's dream, is useless to your object: first, because an expression may be metaphorical in one place, and not in another; beside this, the overthrow of all kingdoms, which, according to you, it must denote, has never taken place.

#### ANSWER.

This is the answer of Joseph Wolff, to the learned Emeer Sayd Ahmed, Mujtehed of the Sheah at Lucknow.

You say:

*First.* "In the above citation the name of Christ is not at all mentioned, etc."

If you were to prove to me something from a certain text in the Koran, and I were to answer you in the manner in which you answer me, you would tell me, "read the whole contents of the preceding chapter, which are in strict connection with this verse." I give you now the same answer. The contents of Daniel ii. and again vii. 1—28, are a fourfold succession of kingdoms, which should arise out of the earth, but which should *not* endure for ever; whereas the kingdom of the *Son of Man and his saints*, of whom Daniel speaks, *should endure for ever*. That the "*Son of Man*, coming in the clouds of heaven," mentioned in verse 13, is Christ the *expected Messiah*, is not only admitted by Christians and Jewish commentators, but must be likewise admitted by you, as an orthodox Mohammedan; for according to the Koran and your Hadees, *Christ*, not Mohammed, went in the form of the *Son of Man* to heaven, and therefore he only can return in that form. Now all true Mohammedans believe what the Koran contains, and the Koran says that Christ was not actually crucified, but that it was merely a likeness of Christ, and that Christ himself was translated to heaven in the body in which he shall reappear on earth.

The eighth and following chapters of Daniel contain a succession



of events which shall precede and follow the coming of that *Son of Man*; one of them is in chapter viii. 14: "That the sanctuary should be cleansed," i. e. Jerusalem, called in Hebrew קֹדֶשׁ a name which the Jews gave to that place from time immemorial, and on which account it was called by the Mohammedans *Kudus*, i. e. *holy*. It is therefore clear that the cleansing of the sanctuary shall be concomitant with *those wonders* (vii. 13.), when the four empires shall be broken to pieces by that "Stone" which shall descend from heaven, i. e. the *Son of Man*, in order that He, the Lord of glory, may enter into that cleansed sanctuary. By that "*Ram, He-Goat*," etc. to which you allude, are here meant different Kings, which is explained in the text itself, i. e. of the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires.

*Secondly.* "As to your writing that the time of Daniel was 453 years before that of Christ, etc."

If you read over my letter, you will perceive that you have mistaken me. I said, that I reason from analogy. The number 1260—1290, as well as the seventy weeks (which latter relate to our Lord's first advent), clearly specify some great public transaction, from which we are to commence dating. The 1260 prophetic days, or years, are dated then from the "giving the saints into the hands of the little horn;" the seventy weeks from the issuing forth the commandment to restore and build the temple, are dated from the only remaining great event, which is farther recorded in Scripture, Nehemiah ix. and xi. and that is the complete re-establishment of the daily sacrifice: now this re-establishment of the daily sacrifice took place 453 years B. C. So that the whole of your second objection falls to the ground, as not applicable to my former letter. Beside this, you should have mentioned the names of the translators of the English authors alluded to, for I am sure that there is not one English book in which you will find the numbers you mention, nor is there an English book about Daniel translated into the Persian language.

*Thirdly.* "It mentions days and not years."

I answer, that by a *prophetic day*, a year is meant, that is clear by Ezekiel iv. 4, 5. And that Daniel took this method of counting *days* for *years*, according to Ezekiel, his cotemporary, is clear by Daniel ix.; for both profane and sacred history teach us that "from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah, and the cutting off of the Messiah," as many years did elapse as Daniel prophesied days should elapse. (Daniel ix. 25, 26.) You cited above English authorities without giving their names; I now give you English authorities with their names, i. e. the famous Doctor Scott in his answer to the Jewish Rabbi Crool; Doctor Mant, in his commentary of the Bible; Newton, Hooper, etc. and I would quote also the Italian and Spanish authors, Cornelius a Lapide, Bellarmin, and Ben Ezra.

*Fourthly.* You cite Matth. xxiv. 36.

I ask you, did our Lord say that that day and hour should *never* be known? Did he not give us signs of the times, in order that

we may know at least the *approach* of his coming, as one knows the approach of the summer by the fig tree putting forth its leaves? Matth. xxiv. 32. Are we never to know that period, whilst He himself exhorteth us not only to read Daniel the Prophet, but to understand it? and in that very Daniel, where it is said that the words were shut up to the time of the end (which was the case in his time), and “that many shall run to and fro,” (an Hebrew expression for observing and thinking upon the time,) “and *knowledge* (regarding that time) shall be increased. Daniel xii. 4. Beside this, our Lord does not intend to say by this, that the *approach* of the time shall not be known, but that the *exact* “*day and hour* knoweth no man;” enough, he does say, shall be known by the signs of the times to induce us to prepare for his coming, as Noah prepared the ark; (for he compares those days to the days of Noah. Matt. xxiv. 37—41.) Enough is revealed to us in the Scripture, to know by all that has come to pass in the Eastern and Western Roman empires, that He, Christ, will soon set up the ark of his Church, as the only possible place of safety. When you say that angels ought to know it, you pre-suppose that we ought to believe in the omniscience of angels; but omniscience is the exclusive attribute of God.

*Fifthly.* You then come to the prophetic office of Mohammed, and say, “although there are many prophecies respecting him, yet to avoid lengthening, etc. a few are mentioned;” and then you cite Isaiah xxi. 7.

1st. If Mohammed be meant here, the Prophet does not make mention of him to his advantage; for he would then be described not as a Prophet, but as a “burden,” i. e. *misfortune* to the country, Isaiah xxi. 1, (the burden.) 2, “A grievous vision,” 3, 4. 2ndly. You have not one proof that Mohammed was to ride upon one of those “camels.” Every attentive reader of this text will observe the description of such a concourse of nations only as is to be found in the East. And again, should he be meant here, he would be merely described (as I believe him to be described in other parts of Daniel) as an instrument for chastising the sins of men; as one, as Daniel saith, “who devoured much flesh,” Daniel vii. 5. But this argument alone will refute the hypothesis that Mohammed and his Caliphs were the persons spoken of in chapter xxi. 9, as “coming with horsemen and crying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, etc.” Mohammed was not in existence till very many (about 12) centuries after the destruction of Babylon. Thus I have answered all your citations from Isaiah xxi.

You produce John v. 32, and say, “this alludes to the testimony of the last of the Prophets (Mohammed) in favour of Christ.”

Christ himself mentions in John viii. 18, with the very name, the Witness he meant. “I am one that bear witness of myself, and the *Father* that sent me beareth witness of me.”

Mohammed contradicted the witness of Christ in the Koran. Christ witnessed that he himself was the Son of God, Matt. xxvi. 63, 64. John i. 34. Luke i. 35, etc. this the Koran denies.

*Sixthly.* You say, that “in John i. 26, 27, and Matt. iii. 11, you have a convincing proof in favour of a Prophet greater than Christ, and who else, you add, but our Prophet is endowed with such attributes?”

These are very unfortunate citations indeed for corroborating the prophetic office of your Prophet; for John the Baptist spoke of one who was then “among them,” and in verse 29, the very person is mentioned (Jesus); and the same is maintained in Matt. iii. 13, 14, 15, where it is again distinctly shewn that Jesus was the very man to whom John alluded.

You say that “in Rev. ii. 26, 27, either Mohammed or the promised Mohde was meant.”

1st. That Mohammed cannot be meant, is clear by this, that Mohammed did not “keep the works of Christ;” for in this very book which you cite, *Christ* is called the *Beginning* and the *End*, which Mohammed frequently denied.

2ndly. Mohde cannot be meant, for he is only to be found in later and not inspired writings of the Mohammedans, and not even alluded to in the Koran.

*Seventhly.* You ask, “How can the remaining signs take place within this limited period?”

I answer with your Koran: “God said: Let it be, and it was.” To God everything is possible, He said: “Let there be light, and it was light.”

*Eighthly.* You say, that “to give weight to a sign, it is requisite that it should be accompanied with the thing signified.” This is absurd; for instance, if I were to say that the death of such and such a King, or the war with such and such a nation, should be a sign that any particular dynasty should begin to govern; it does not follow from this, that the dynasty alluded to should begin to govern at that very moment in which the sign was given.

*Ninthly.* “These changes have always taken place, etc.”

That the changes which shall take place will be analogous to the changes of past events, was predicted by our Lord himself, that it shall be “as in the days of Noah; but woe unto those, who will on this account ask, “where is the promise of his coming?” You Mohammedans do not seek a God who reveals himself in the works of nature, and who from one period of the world to another, demonstrates by the *events* of the world the *truth* of revelation; but you have an imaginary God, who, as you justly say, is a *contrast* to the works of nature. Your’s is not a God who “sends rain upon the just and upon the unjust.” Your Prophets are not natural characters, but all immaculate; your’s is not a religion of love and of mercy, but a religion of persecution and of hatred. And I must observe, that it is highly inconsistent of the Mohammedans, to prove the divine message of Mohammed from our books, which you declare to have been corrupted, whilst you admit that they contain most stupendous prophecies.

*Tenthly.* You say that “Christians are at present in the height of their glory, etc.”

This is the more awful for you Mohammedans; for those very judgments are predicted to break out over those portions of the earth which are partly ruled by Mohammedan powers.

*Eleventhly.* "The spreading of the *good news* by the angel flying, etc."

I answer that the expression *good news* is in the original, Revelations xiv. 6, *Εὐαγγέλιον* and means the very word *Gospel*. As to Mohde, I have already said, that he is a personage not even mentioned in the Koran.

*Twelfthly.* "On what ground do you call the New Testament the Word of God? etc."

I answer first, that we call it the Word of God, because it contains the words of Christ, who was God, and the words of His Apostles, who were inspired by him. It seems that you are not aware that the whole of the Old Testament is also considered by Christians to be the Word of God; your asserted reason, why the Koran must be the word of God, is not convincing; for there are wicked people, even infidels, who composed books with wonderful elegance, and perspicuity, and strength. Moreover many of the Persians declare that Saadi is written with superior elegance; and some of the Arabians assert, that the Mekamat Hariri is written in far superior language than the Koran.

That the *sun* and *moon* are *metaphors*, as applied in Joseph's dream, is confirmed by the very words of Christ; for I must repeat what I have already observed as an answer to your first objection, that in order to understand well the meaning of a verse, one must read the preceding chapter or chapters connected with that verse; so we must do here. In Mathew xxii. Christ begins to speak about the future kingdom to be established, not in plain terms, but in *parables*, called in Arabic *imsaal*, and in Hebrew מְשָׁלִים. And that *sun* and *moon* is an oriental imagery for King and Queen, you yourself will admit. I would also remark, that it is necessary to hold in connection the Old and New Testament. Christ, in speaking to the Jews, was accustomed to refer to the Old Testament. Now there is a connection between the parabolic language of Christ in the 22nd chapter of Matthew, and the parabolic language of the Prophet Isaiah in his 34th chapter, 4th and 5th verses; both use the imagery of Eastern idiom. Isaiah's "host of heaven" signifies royal power, as the King of Babylon was called "the morning star," Isaiah 14; and as the King of Persia is called the "sun of the empire;" and as the empire of China is called the "celestial empire."

Thus my assertion is borne out by texts in Scripture, by Christ's word, and by the language of Oriental literature.

Yours truly,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

#### DEPARTURE FROM LUCKNOW.

*Feb. 3.*—I preached in the British residency; after the service was over, three Mussnlmans called, and desired instructions in Christianity.

In the afternoon I preached in the cantonment; then took a cor-



dial farewell of Major and Mrs. Low, and Sir Jeremiah and Lady Bryant, and set off for Cownpore. Here I again lodged with my excellent friend Lieutenant Conolly, who has lately published his travels through Affghanistaun; he is a man of strict principles, deep religion and research; but as he had no interest, his merits have been overlooked.

*Feb. 5.*—I dined with Colonel Whish, and expounded the Scripture in his house.

*Feb. 6.*—I lectured in the tents of the English officers, and preached to several native officers who professed the Mohammedan religion. One of the Subdars, i. e. native officers, made this enquiry: "If Jesus Christ was a King, why did he not coin money?" Another replied, that he came not as a King, but as a Fakeer (poor man). Another said, he would die in the religion in which he was born. I replied, that his ancestors did not think so, for they were idolaters and became Mohammedans; and no man says, that he will die poor, because his father has been poor.

*Feb. 9.*—I had again the greater part of the day discussions with the Mussulmans, in which Conolly kindly assisted me.

*Feb. 11.*—I called on the Roman Catholic Priest, an Italian, who was a well informed man.

*Feb. 12.*—I left Cownpore with Captain Layard, and arrived at Futtehpore, where I lectured, and took up my abode with Mr. Rivaz, an excellent and pious gentleman. I met there with a bold, talkative, and self conceited sciolus, who without knowing any thing of the Sanscrit tongue, talked nonsense about the antiquity and excellency of the Vedas. According to the great Sanscrit scholar, Horace Wilson, the Vedas are little known yet, and no satisfactory data exist for computing their antiquity. The computation of Mr. Colebrooke makes them about 1400 years anterior to Christianity. Munoo Smerti is supposed to have been composed about seven centuries B. C.; frequent references are made to the Vedas in this work.

*Feb. 15.*—Arrived at Allahabad, a place of pilgrimage for Hindoos; as the Gunga (Ganges) flows here. I lived half the time with Mr. Fane, and the other part of my stay with Mr. Turnbull and Caldecotte; preached in the church, and lectured in the free-masons' hall.

#### ARRIVAL AT BENARES.

*Feb. 20.*—I arrived at Benares, and took up my abode with General White. I visited the zealous and pious Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Messrs. Smith, Leupold, and Knorp. They assisted me in managing my affairs, and in preaching, and making researches; and so did also the Rev. Mr. Hammond, for whom I preached in the church and lectured.

*Feb. 21.*—I breakfasted with the above mentioned Missionaries. Mr. and Mrs. Smith of the Church Missionary Society have established a school for Hindoo and Mohammedan girls and boys, who learn by heart the ten commandments, and portions of Scripture.

## BENARES.

The mythological reason given for the sanctity of Benares, is, that during one of the great periodical deluges, termed Muhaprun-lugas, the space forming the holy ground was raised by supernatural means, so as to remain above the waters, which had drowned the rest of the world. The Hindoos in general believe, that as the fruit of pious pilgrimages, they will after death be translated into one of their heavens, "Deva Soku," in consequence of their virtuous acts, obtaining for a limited period the preponderance over those of an evil tendency. The length of their abode in Deva Soku will depend upon the number of their good deeds, and of the pilgrimages made, each of the latter conferring its distinct blessing; when the value of virtuous actions and pilgrimages is expended, they must be born again into this world.

Those dying at Benares, obtain Inokhshu, or absorption into the Deity; for it is necessary to have attained "gyan," or a perfect knowledge of the Godhead, &c. and Bueragyn, or a total indifference to all matters, mundane and celestial, to be qualified for absorption; all which is of very difficult acquirement, in the prescribed way of hard study, penances, &c.

The Pooranus are full of miracles, or prodigies, and Benares has its share of these; but they do not correspond with our notions of miracles; they are fabulous and unnatural stories respecting gods, semi-gods, and saints. There are many *good* Pundits at Benares; among the most distinguished are: Ram Krishnu Misru, Saaruji Narayun Shastree, Damadur Shastree, Bal Krishnu Bhuttu, Suda Sivu Bhuttu, Narajan Bhutta Charuj.

Benares had fallen into decay, with other celebrated places of pilgrimage, in the commencement of the reign of Bikrumaditzu, whose era, of which the present year is 1889, still subsists. This Prince is said to have restored seven great Teeruthastano (places of pilgrimage) viz. Bunarus, Ujoodhya, Muthoara, Mayaoojeen, Sein Kanche, Aunteenogur, Dwacku, which bears the name of a Rajah of Benares, who four or five centuries ago is said to have done much for improving the city.

## BEDAS (HOLY BOOKS).

There are four Bedas: Rig, Jojoor, Sami, and Authuroo. The principal divisions of the Bedas are, the Muntru and Bruhmun. The Muntru consists of holy mystical texts, which are explained in the Bruhmun. These relate chiefly to the different rites practised by the Hindoos. The Bruhmun likewise treats of the Godhead, and its energies displayed in the creation. The Grehya, another portion of Bedas, prescribes the application of the several ablutions to different classes, and their appropriate rites. The Bedas are entirely doctrinal, containing only matter considered in that light by the Hindoos. The Hindoos have a number of expiatory rites, chiefly of the nature of penances for sin; they have also sacrifices to avert evil, and to expiate for omissions, but (Mr. Wilson says) they have no propitiatory sacrifices, in the Mosaic ac-

ception of the term. The Hindoo philosophy is monotheistical, and even in popular opinion the plurality of Gods is resolvable into the one Atma, Purumatma, or Bruhma, the great author of all creatures, from whom they emanated, and to whom they will eventually return. This unknown supreme God has manifested himself in various ways in the creation, and all things in heaven and earth are dependant upon him; the common ritual however, is of a theistical character.

#### NAMES OF GOD.

1. Atma, or spirit. 2. Puramatma, or great spirit of the soul of the universe. 3. Eeshher, Eeshoura and Pourmeshoura, Lord of all things. 4. Bibher, the Being who pervades all things, and the whole universe. 5. Brahma, which word is derived from a word signifying an increase, support, &c. and refers to the universal providence of the Almighty.

#### NOTICES AMONG THE HINDOOS WITH REGARD TO OUR LORD.

Mr. Horace Wilson writes to me, that the Hindoos have no records of our Saviour in their writings. It has been thought, that some of the legends of Krishna, and of one of their Princes, Salivahana, who lived 76 years after Christ, indicated some reference to the Evangelium Infantiae, and other spurious Gospels; but the resemblance is very doubtful. There is, according to all accounts I have heard from the learned in Hindoostan, nothing in the Hindoo writings which can be referred to the Jews, to Moses, or the Prophets. The Hindoos believe, that those who are not Hindoos will at last obtain absorption into the Godhead.

#### THEIR CONNECTION WITH EGYPT.

Capt. Thorsby tells me, that there can be no doubt an intimate connection once subsisted between Egypt and India, but the extent of it is not to be ascertained from the Sanscrit books. The tenth and last incarnation of Vishnoo Kalki, to take place, according to the belief of the Hindoos, about 427,000 years from hence, may be thought to offer some analogy to the advent of a Messiah. But Vishnoo is to come to destroy the world for a season, until the next great period of four ages recommences. The Hindoos have a record of the submersion of the world by a deluge, with many circumstances that resemble the Mosaic narrative, as already observed.

#### JUGURNAUTH.

Jugurnauth, derived from Jugur, the World or Universe, and Nath, Lord or master.

Upon the mountain Nilachul Pahur stood the image of Nilmadhoe Vishnoo. This hill, with its image, sunk down, and was overwhelmed by the sea. Juderudyumnah, a Rajah of Malwa in the Sutyjoog, replaced the image, with another upon the sea shore, opposite to the place where the former hill stood; the new image was called Jugurnuth, and a pilgrimage to it recommended; gradually

it became a place of great resort for pilgrims. The horrors committed there are described by Buchanan.

#### SANSKRIT COLLEGE AT BENARES.

The Sanscrit college at Benares was established about forty years ago by government, at the recommendation of Mr. Duncan, then Agent to the Governor General, afterwards Governor of Bombay. The following are the branches of study. 1. Grammar, which is founded upon the Sutrus, or sacred rules of Panini. These are intelligible without commentary. The philological works are numerous, but the Mahabhashgo stands at the head of them. 2. Poetry, and works on rhetoric. 3. Nature of the Divinity, called Vedanhu. 4. Minansa, or the ritual of the Vedas. 5. Sankhya, a system of philosophy. 6. The Pooranus, or epic poems of Muhabharutu and Ramayanu. 7. Arithmetic, Mathematics and Astronomy, all included under the head of Jyotish-Shastra. 8. The Dhurmu, Shastru or Hindoo law; a code for the general conduct of Hindoos, moral and practical, including expiatory rites, and ceremonies.

There is also a class for the study of Arabic and Persian attached to the college.

The amount per annum allowed by government for the expense of the establishment is 20,000 rupees. The English seminary was founded between two and three years ago. There are at present 70 pupils attached to it. This institution will of course rise in importance, if due attention is paid to it.

The free school at Benares was founded by Baboo Inè Narayun, father of Raja Kalee Sonkurnu. English, Bengalee, Persian, and Hindoostanee, are taught there. It was endowed by the founder, and placed under the control of the Church Missionary Society.

Captain Thorsby, the Director of the Hindoo college, went with me to shew me the temple Bishwar, which signifies Lord of the universe, and is one of the names of Sheeva or Mahadeo. This is the grand temple of Benares. Benares is likewise called Kaashe, resplendent.

Benares, derived from Baranusee, means, situated near the sacred river Ganges.

Passing the Ganges here, I saw thousands of Hindoos performing their Buja, i. e. worship, and ablution, and washing their clothes in the river Ganges. When will that glorious time come, when the inhabitants of Hindoostaun shall draw water from the river of salvation!

*Feb. 21.* I breakfasted again with the dear Missionaries Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Leupold, and Knorp. One day a worldly man at Benares told me, it would be far better for the Missionaries of Benares to establish schools, than to carry on controversies. I asked, "Have they no school here?" *Answer.* "Not one." *Myself.* "Do you know Mr. and Mrs. Smith?" *Ans.* "I have not the pleasure of knowing them, for these things are not in my way." *M.* "Now I have the pleasure of telling you, that gentleman and his



lady have already had a school for some years, consisting of 150 Hindoo girls. *Ans.* "Poor people, they are bribed with money." *M.* "How should you know this, as you did not even know of the existence of any school here, nor even the teacher's name, nor took the trouble to enquire? Granting them to be the children of poor Hindoos, ought only the rich to be taught?" I give this short dialogue as a specimen of the total incompetency and unfitness, and at the same time partiality of worldly people in judging about missionary labours.

*Feb. 22.*—I lectured again in the Mint house, in the presence of all the Missionaries, and all the inhabitants of Benares. On Sunday I preached in the Established church.

## GALANOS.

Galanos, a Greek gentleman from Athens, has been forty years at Benares studying the Sanscrit languages; he desires now to return to Athens; and has therefore addressed a letter to Capod'Istria.

*Feb. 26.*—I spent again half a day with the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, and then set out for Ghuzepoor. Just before my departure, I received the following letter from Delhee, from a most interesting gentleman, which I insert herewith to shew what different sorts of observations a Missionary hears during his errand of love. The gentleman who writes to me thus, is an excellent and most philanthropic character.

*Dehlee, 1st February, 1833.*

My dear sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter from Lucknow. I will forward one letter for Lord Clare, and one for Mr. Bax, Chief Secretary at Bombay.

I shall be always happy to hear of your welfare, and at present you are as happy as it is possible for a man to be. When you are fifty, you will be sobered down to a staunch metaphysician. I beg you to read that excellent book of Mr. Locke's Christianity with reason; read his chapter particularly on enthusiasm.

Read also his first and second volume. At this the advancing season of the year be careful not to expose yourself; be abstemious and prudent. Also get better clothes, and a better cap. The King said, "What a pity it is, a holy father looks so like a Captain." My advice will make you laugh, and if it does, that even is something in the way of good.

I am, my dear sir, yours truly,

(Signed)

WM. FRASER.

I arrived at Ghuzepoor on

*Feb. 27.*—Where I resided with Mr. Smith the Judge, whose lady is pious and excellent.

The Rev. Mr. Rowllins, Chaplain to this station, invited me to preach in his church.

## ARRIVAL AT BUXAR.

*Feb. 28.*—I arrived at Buxar, a station for invalided officers, where

I resided with Captain Thomas, who was entirely convinced of the reappearance of our Lord Jesus Christ to reign on earth.

*March 1.*—I called on Colonel Bird, who arranged about my lectures. I then lectured on the 1st and 2nd of March; and on the 3d I preached in the Bungalow.

My friends in Switzerland will be interested in learning that I met at Buxar an old invalided garrison sergeant, born at Frybourg in Switzerland, whose name is Carl Schalch; he enquired after the old Baron Diesbach at Frybourg. I talked with him about Jesus Christ and his love to men. Tears stood in the eyes of the old man. He had left Frybourg many years ago for Holland, where he served three years in the guard under the Prince of Orange; in the year 1795 he came to the Cape of Good Hope, where he was made prisoner by the English Admiral Elphinstone; he entered the English service, and came to Calcutta.

*March 4.*—I preached again upon the text, "Behold the severity and goodness of the Lord." Rom. xi.

*March 5.*—I preached on the subject of the future glory of Christ's kingdom; and addressed the following letter to the King of Oude.

"Most Potent Jehaan Penah!

"Your Majesty has overpowered me with your benevolence and generosity, so that feelings of gratitude compel me to write to your Majesty those truths which will render your Majesty happy and your Majesty's subjects happy, here upon earth, and eternally in heaven. My earnest wish is, that your Majesty and your whole court should enquire into the truth of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, with prayer and supplication; and your Majesty will be then convinced that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, by the power of the Holy Spirit; and that the fulness of the Godhead was in Him bodily; and that He died for our sins, rose again, and went to heaven; from whence he will come again in the clouds of heaven. In believing this glorious doctrine, your Majesty will experience joy, peace and love in your own heart, and begin to diffuse among your Majesty's subjects, that peace, joy, and love by means of which your Majesty will become the father spiritual and temporal of your subjects; and your Majesty will one day shine like the stars, and like the brightness of the firmament for ever and ever.

"Your Majesty's most obedient and humble servant,  
(Signed) JOSEPH WOLFF, Missionary."

*March 6.*—I left Buxar, and arrived at Dinapore, where Henry Martyn was Chaplain.

I was most hospitably received by the Rev. M. Ruspini, the pious Chaplain of Dinapore.

*March 7.*—I lectured to a crowded congregation, and received the following letter from the Rev. Mr. Stevens from Patna.

"Wednesday morning.

My dear Sir,  
My friend, Mr. Ruspini, having intimated to me your obliging

offer of favouring the Patna residents with a repetition of your lectures, I have great pleasure in sending you word that every thing will be prepared (I trust to your satisfaction) for the evenings of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday at seven.

Mr. Jennings, who I believe has the gratification of becoming your host, informs me, that you intend leaving Dinapore on Saturday; if so, and you could make it convenient, need I add the pleasure we should all feel if you would oblige us with a discourse on Sunday morning?

I am forestalled by introductions from the upper provinces in the offer of a home during your stay; else it would have afforded Mrs. Stevens and myself the greatest pleasure to have welcomed you here.

Believe me, dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

(Signed)

THOMAS N. STEVENS."

*March 8.*—I lectured again, and set out for Patna, where I resided in the house of Mr. Jennings.

*March 10.*—I preached in the forenoon at Patna, in the evening at Dinapore, only two miles distant from each other.

The Rev. Mr. Stevens, the Chaplain of this station, became my very intimate friend. Messieurs Elliott, Templar, Douglass, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Stuart, assisted me in collecting the Mussulmans, 2000 in number, with whom I had public discussions. They often cited texts as from the Gospel, which were not to be found there. Mowlvee Ahmede, the most learned Mohammedan, called on me.

In the afternoon I called on Mr. E.... a very open hearted and excellent gentleman; he shewed me Middleton's discrepancy in the genealogy of the Gospel. I told him, "Difficulties are yet no proof that it is not true; for all ancient genealogies have difficulties." E.... 'But a revelation ought to be clear.' Myself: "It is clear to many, but you must have observed that a man reads a book under different circumstances, with different feelings and sentiments; the mind may be clouded with passions, so that it will not see the beauty or propriety of any passage; therefore we must read the word of God with the simplicity of a child."

*March 13.*—I received before my departure from Patna, the following letter from the Rev. Mr. Stevens.

*"Patna, March 13, 1833.*

My dear friend,

I have the greatest pleasure in sending you a line to our very dear friends the Mills.

Bishop's College will of course be an object of interest to you, and next to it, its worthy inmates; and I am sure I can promise you a warm reception.

I send you my little gift which you were kind enough to accept; keep it in memorial of one who has seen too little of you, but who takes this last opportunity of saying that you carry his blessing, and that of all here, wherever the wandering foot in a holy cause may lead you.

Believe me ever affectionately yours,

(Signed)

THOMAS N. STEVENS."

I left Patna, after having taken leave of my friends Jennings, Stuart, Clarke, &c.

*March 14.*—I arrived at Gyah, a famous place for Hindoo pilgrims; here I preached the Gospel in Persian to Hindoos and Mussulmans.

*March 17.*—I preached the Gospel to the English station at Bancoorah. A Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Mr. Kruckeberg, is stationed there; a holy man, who seems to be entirely devoted to his work; he invited me to preach in his stead.

*March 18.*—I arrived at Burdwan, stopt a few hours with Captain Vetch, and preached in the small chapel. Here I met likewise with a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, Mr. Link, who treated me with brotherly love and kindness.

*March 19.*—Arrived at Chinsurah, and in the evening at Ishapoor, where I lived in the house of Major Powney, a zealous advocate for the Temperance, Missionary, and Bible societies, and who has been the instrument of the conversion of many young men to the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

*March 20.*—I received the following letter from the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta.

*Palace, Calcutta, Monday.*

Dear sir,

I shall be rejoiced to see you once again after so long an interval; what journies you have made! Why, if your letter in the Courier of Saturday be genuine, you have run over the face of the earth! Of course, you do not expect such an old fellow as me, to enter into your particular views and dates, as to unfulfilled prophecies. But on the grand vital truths of Christianity, as applicable to Jew and Gentile, in all ages, and at all times, and in all countries, you will find me exactly what I was thirty years since, and as I hope to be at my dying hour, only desiring to be found in HIM, whom to know is life eternal.

I shall rejoice to press you, dear brother, to my bosom, if you only keep on the broad grounds of faith and love, which I am sure you will do, in such a place as Calcutta.

I have no time to write upon the topics you advert to; you must come and see me, and take your bed at my house, and then we can talk over all matters. For I don't understand what the Moulvee Muhammed Ishak means by the Seal of the Prophets.

Farewell, I am ever yours,

(Signed)

DANIEL CALCUTTA.

#### ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA.

*March 22.*—After having lectured in the house of Major Powney and General Knox, I set out for Calcutta, where I arrived on the 22nd of March, and was most cordially received by the Lord Bishop, and slept the first night in his house. In the evening he took me to the cathedral, where he introduced me to the Archdea-



con Corrie, and the Chaplains Fisher, Robertson, Dealtry, and Boyes.

*March 23.*—I went to see Colonel and Mrs. Craigie at Garden-Roach, where I was most affectionately received.

*March 24.*—As Lady William Bentinck had previously written to me that a room had been prepared for me in the Government house, I went to live again with Lord and Lady William.

*March 25.*—I breakfasted with the Bishop at the Archdeacon's, and in the afternoon we dined there; after dinner I lectured to about 1200 persons in the Town Hall; the Bishop, the whole of the English and Scotch clergy, and all the Missionaries were present.

*March 26.*—I lectured again in the Town Hall, to a more crowded congregation.

*March 27.*—I dined with the Bishop, who had invited about fifty ladies and gentlemen, to whom I gave a lecture after dinner.

*March 28.*—I introduced the English ladies to the Armenian ladies. I received the following letter from Kotughery in the Neilgheries from Mr. Jarrett.

*Kotughery on the Neilgheries,  
February 19, 1833.*

My dear sir,

I have just had the pleasure to receive Colonel Morison's letter you transmitted me from Madras, and I rejoice in the prospect of seeing you before you leave India. My health latterly at Madras was so much impaired, that I was obliged to solicit leave of absence on sick certificate, and to proceed to Bangalore, and ultimately to this place, with the hope, under the divine blessing, of some relief; as I have however been so many years in a hot climate, it will require some time before I can expect any permanent benefit.

I am happy to find by Colonel Morison's letter, that your progress has been so interesting; though you may have been disappointed in extending your travels. Your letter to me from Busso-rah, many years ago, came to hand after I had resigned the acting Secretary's duties of the Madras Committee of the Jews' Society; I therefore gave it to my successor in office, and hope he replied thereto. Mr. Sargon, you may have heard, is at Bombay, employed by the Church Missionary Society. The schools under him were in a flourishing state when he last wrote to me, but for want of funds many have been abandoned.

Colonel Morison also says, that it is your intention to visit that interesting place Cochin; if so, you cannot do better than to come up here, from whence to Cochin the passage is short, being a great part of the way by water. I shall be most happy to see you and Lady G. Wolff, if with you, and have room enough for you and your family, having purchased a house at Kotughery. You will experience one of the most delightful climates in the world, and be able to visit the Todas, a race of people who have excited the greatest interest. I have not yet been able to obtain any satisfac-

tory accounts of them. They have neither books nor written language, and their traditions are very imperfect. They are discovered, however, by their habits and customs; and their mode of building is curious. They are a remarkably handsome race of people, and their resemblance to the portraits of our Saviour and his Apostles, have struck many. There is another race here, called Kotras. They wear their hair very bushy, and have large black beards; whereas the Todas wear their hair quite smooth all over their heads, and trim their beards; notwithstanding, there is a distant resemblance between them in their features. I think you would regret leaving India without seeing both. It is yet to be discovered whether either are of the long lost Ten Tribes. I think however they were driven to these hills (for they certainly once inhabited the low country) at the same time the inhabitants of the Eastern Islands were compelled to take shipping, and flee to Sumatra and Java. .

I shall do myself the pleasure to reply to Colonel Morison's note, and remain my dear sir,

(Signed)

Yours very faithfully,  
THOMAS JARRETT.

#### LIBERALITY OF MOHAMMEDAN PRINCES IN INDIA.

The native Mohammedan Princes shew sometimes singular liberality.

Akbar Shah, for instance, had a great many Christians and even Jews at his court, and open discussion was permitted. The Nawab of Bhopul, who maintained his dependence since the day of Arungh Zeeb, surrounded by the Marhatta and other Hindoo Powers, had Christians in his service. The influential person at the court of the widow of Naser Mohammed, was Belshazar Bourbon, or Shah Zadeh Bourbon, a descendant of a Frenchman, Bourbon by name, who came to India in the time of Akbar; he was in high favour with the Princess, and all the intrigues of the courtiers could not succeed in inducing the Princess to remove that able Christian, so sensible was she of his merits and integrity. Madocks gives an interesting account of him. This liberality towards foreigners seems to have existed in the East from time immemorial. Joseph experienced it at the court of Pharaoh, and Daniel from Nebuchadnezzar; and frequently Jews meet with it in the Turkish empire and in Persia.

#### JEWES OF CALCUTTA.

There are about 60 families of Jews at Calcutta, who came partly from Bagdad and Sheeras, and partly from Mocha, Mascot, and Sanaa. They are a very handsome race of men, and their women are beautiful; they are very benevolent; not very learned, but not ignorant; intelligent, tolerant, and hospitable; very shrewd and cunning, and anxious to cultivate the friendship of Gentiles.

The richest Jew of Calcutta is Ezechiel Masliah from Bagdad, a polite gentleman; but as no attempt has ever been made in the

way of converting these Jews, they are ignorant on the subject of Christianity. I preached to Shalom, the clerk of Mr. Ezechiel, and to some others, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. There are at Calcutta some black Jews of Cochin, in the capacity of servants. At Calcutta, they are said to have come to India in the time of Esther, when they fled from the persecution of Haman; their colour however is not dark black.

*March 31.*—I preached in the house of Colonel and Mrs. Craigie at Garden Reach.

#### MRS. CRAIGIE.

This is an extraordinary lady, uniting to an amiable manner, the energy, zeal, vigour, diligence, and self denial of an Apostle; without neglecting the duties of a tender wife and affectionate mother, she draws around her crowds of Hindoos of all classes, to whom she preaches the Gospel of Christ; she does not regard the censure of those ladies who wish to appear religious, but are frightened out of their wits at the name of an enthusiast, and are capable of renouncing friendship, and withdrawing themselves from real religious friends, as soon as they are in danger of being classed with them. Mrs. Craigie knows such characters, and treats them with pity. She took to her house the children of frail women, in order to lead them to Christ. She boldly tells people their faults like Catharine of Siena. She can live on rice and bread like a Hindoo. She confounds Socinians, and puts to shame atheists. She is devout without hypocrisy, zealous without ostentation.

Many ladies of great minds make themselves disliked by their own sex by shewing their superiority on every occasion; but not so Mrs. Craigie. She is a clever linguist, and speaks Hindoostanee and French with great fluency.

*April 1.*—I visited and was visited by the zealous Missionaries Duff, Pearce, Reichardt, and La-Croix.

*April 2.*—I visited with the Rev. Mr. Duff, the school established by him. It is wonderful to see with what skilfulness these Hindoos recite texts of the Old and New Testament, and prove the truth of Christianity. They are acquainted with the different ways of interpreting unfulfilled prophecy, and are beside this much advanced in geography and profane history.

La Croix, a Missionary to the London Missionary Society, is a clever, zealous, and pious gentleman; he preached regularly in three villages inhabited by Hindoos, all converted through his instrumentality to the religion of Christ.

*April 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12.*—I lectured to the soldiers in the Fort William.

Krishna, a most respectable Brahmin, has openly avowed the Christian religion, and publishes now an English newspaper, called the Enquirer, for the purpose of converting his countrymen to Christ.

Mrs. Craigie introduced me to another Brahmin, who had left an

employment which gave him 8000 rupees per annum, to become a teacher at a school of Hindoos, established by him.

I stated my views on the personal reign of Christ, in the house of the Rev. Mr. Dealtry, to a crowded congregation.

#### ARMENIANS IN BRITISH INDIA.

Johannes Avdal at Calcutta, an Armenian, and the author of the history of Armenia, a gentleman of general knowledge, and well acquainted not only with the Armenian, but likewise with the Persian, Turkish, English, Latin, Greek, and French languages, gave me the following information about the Armenians in British India. The number of Armenians in British India amounts to 1000. They visited India long before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese. A few centuries ago, they carried on a commercial intercourse between Hindoostan and Persia.

“Bolts upon Indian affairs,” furnishes ample information respecting the Armenians in Hindoostan. There are Armenians at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Penang, Singapore, Chinsurah, Sydad, Dacca, Gwalior and Surat. In all these places they have churches and chapels.

At Calcutta are 300 Armenians, some of them very rich. They are engaged in mercantile pursuits; others are employed as clerks in different offices. They have a church at Calcutta, an alms-house, built 14 years ago, by Arratoon Petros. The following are respectable Armenians at Calcutta: Messieurs Owenjohn Elias, Sarkies Owen Arratoon Kallqos, Aviet Agabeg, Sarkies T. Sarkies, Arratoon Apcar, Gregory Apcar, Paul Jordan, Johannes 'vdal.

In the Dutch settlements, and in the Burmese empire, are about thirty families. In the latter they have a beautiful church.

Mr. Sarkies Manook is the only principal Armenian at Rangoon. They have at Calcutta an Armenian Philanthropic academy, founded in the year 1821, solely by the generosity of Armenians. They study there Grammar, sacred and profane history, geography, arithmetic, geometry, moral and natural philosophy, &c.; the Armenian, English, French, Latin and Persian languages. It contains above seventy students, many of whom are the children of parents residing at Calcutta, and the rest are from Julfa, Sheeras, Rangoon, Batavia, Samarang, Dacca, &c. Its funds have accumulated to about 100,000 rupees by the bequests of Armenians. A select library and printing press are attached to it. Mr. Arratoon Kaloos, who was the first to pave the way to the education of the Armenians in India, and who carried on a school of his own for a period of about twenty-five years prior to the foundation of the academy, is at the head of this institution; and a respectable European, who teaches the classics, is attached to it, and John Avdal himself teaches in it. Its affairs are managed by four directors, annually chosen from the members. Goldsmith's history, the Vicar of Wakefield, the Deserted Village, Humphrey Prideaux's life of Mohammed, and Paul and Virginia have been translated into Armenian by pupils of that institution.



## INFIDELITY AMONG HINDOOS.

There are a great many Hindoos who have rejected their own religion, and have turned infidels; they occupy their time in reading "Paine's Age of Reason," and the writings of Voltaire. A wretched merchant of Boston in America, either from a vile speculation, or satanical spirit of infidelity, has sent over to India a whole cargo of copies of Paine's Age of Reason, which are sold among the Hindoos at Calcutta at a very cheap rate.

## IDOLATRY.

La Croix agrees with me that it is difficult to prove to Hindoos that idolatry is a sin; for as most of them say that they do not worship the image itself, but the higher being through the image, there are only two ways by which they may be convinced of the sin of idolatry: either by proving to them practically that an image presented to the mind supersedes the notion of the original; or by showing to them at once the truth of our inspired writings: these once admitted, and their whole system must fall. The Hindoo colleges established in India, in which religion is excluded altogether, are the very nurses for propagating infidelity among them.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO ME BY DOCTOR CLARKE AT  
PATNA.

"Since you left Patna, I have had a visit from your antagonist Wazool Huy, and three or four young Mussulmans; thus you see a spirit of inquiry has been excited by your conversations with the natives, to provide for whose spiritual wants, a supply of the Holy Scriptures has been applied for. May your labours of love, my dear sir, be abundantly blessed, to your joy and consolation in Christ Jesus, and the eternal welfare of those whom you address. The Starts are still with us, and unite with Mrs. Clarke in very kind regards to you. I am, my dear Mr. Wolff,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

A. C. CLARKE."

*April 20.*—I received the following letter from Doctor Marshman, the Baptist Missionary at Serampore.

"My dear brother Wolff,

"Can it possibly be that you have forgotten your solemn engagements with your Serampore friends, to lecture there at least three nights successively? an engagement, the fulfilment of which not merely the Governor and the population of Serampore are claiming of us, but unknown numbers of Barrackpore, who could not get access into General Knox's drawing room; they would not hesitate to cross the river and hear you in the college hall, such a room as you have not met with in Calcutta. I have been in search of you, determining to hurry you up with me in the Mission boat, that you might not leave such a blot on your character; but I learned from Mrs. Dealtry that it was vain to commence the search after you, as she had not seen you all the week, though you had been so

long professedly at her house; a fact confirmed to me by Mr. Thacker, who informed me that his two messengers had been for two days in search of you, all through Calcutta, and all in vain. Further, my dear Wolff, what can you be thinking of to talk of embarking for Madras in this weather, when you may be possibly kept at sea a month, if you should escape a journey to the bottom of it? Pray, pray do give up such a wild-goose scheme, and tell the Captain of the *Fifeshire* you positively will not go in such weather. Moreover I hear you are unwell, why then do you not come up to Serampore the most healthful of places? instance old Cary at seventy-two preaching for an hour together, as he did last Sabbath after forty years residence in Bengal. Why not put yourself under your friend Mrs. Marshman's care, who will never be exceeded as a nurse by the — herself, as I can witness after nearly forty-two years trial; for so long have we been united in holy matrimony. Come to your senses, my dear Wolff, at once, and redeem your credit here, and let us see you next Tuesday, when, if you say the word, the Mission boat shall bring you up from Garden Reach to Serampore with all safety in two hours.

Believe me with our united love, yours,

(Signed)

J. MARSHMAN."

I insert herewith another letter of that veteran labourer in the vineyard of the Lord, though I had received it already when at Simlah; for it gives an idea not only of the sentiments of those excellent Missionaries, by which one can perceive that after all I don't stand alone in my expectations with regard to my Nation; but likewise an idea of the pursuits of Doctors Carey and Marshman.

"My dear brother Wolff,

You will perhaps be a little surprised to receive this letter, and to find you have so many friends here in India, who personally know you and love you for your work's sake. But I dare say you recollect seeing me and conversing with me at Lady Carnegies' when we breakfasted together at Edinburgh or rather at Dalry House near it, and afterwards indeed at Mr. F. Gordon's in February, 1827. And you certainly recollect Mrs. Marshman and her daughter Rachel, now Mrs. Voight, whom you saw at Mrs. Stennet's in Paternoster Row in the year 1821. Now none of us have forgotten you, and the intention of this letter is to intreat you by all means to hasten down and stay a little time with us at Serampore, only 15 miles nearer to you than Calcutta, before you set out on any journey either to Thibet or China. It may be also that we may give you some little information respecting these countries, and the best way of your going to them, as we are not wholly unacquainted with them; nor are we wholly uninterested in your object, for we also should be very glad to ascertain where the Ten Tribes are to be found, as we feel very deeply interested in the prophecies concerning both them and the other two Tribes, although we fear you are a little premature in your expectations respecting

their instant fulfilment. But of this we can talk more fully when you are here. Come then, my dear brother, and hasten down with the least possible delay, as in about two months the delightfully cold weather will set in, which is the most favourable time for you to take any journey either North or East. Remember that we are at home, as you shall be the moment you arrive at Serampore. Here too you will find Dr. Carey in good health, although he completed his seventy-first year yesterday; and you will find him almost as much interested in the national, as well as the spiritual Israel of God, as you are yourself, in whose return to their own land he most firmly believes. Here too you will find a press at your command, if you wish to print any thing during your stay in India, and indeed a paper manufactory too, so that there will be no lack of materials to render your collections of facts and observations useful to the world, if this be your wish. From Serampore too, you can visit Calcutta in three hours, and be there as much or as little as you wish, and there you will find many who love your God and your nation, and you too, though they have not seen you in the flesh. Come then, my dear brother, as soon as you possibly can, for a small snug boat will bring you down the Ganges to Serampore, I should think within a month; but on this subject your good friends around you can give you every information. My eldest son John, who is thirty-eight to-day, and to whom belong the press and the paper mill, and Mr. Mack, our Professor of Science in Serampore College, unite in love to you, as do good Dr. Carey, and Mrs. Marshman, and Mrs. Voight. Kindly drop me a line on receiving this, and believe me, my dear brother, affectionately yours in our common Redeemer.

(Signed)

J. MARSHMAN."

I went during my stay at Calcutta twice to Serampore, and have seen both veteran Missionaries, Carey with his silver gray hair, and Marshman nearly as grey, in the service of their Lord; and I have lectured in their college in the presence of both veterans, the younger Missionaries, and all the members of the Danish Serampore Government, for two successive days. I have seen their labours in the vineyard of the Lord. I have seen their village, inhabited by Hindoos, who never have heard an idolatrous drum. Old Marshman assembled them in my presence, and I prayed with converted Hindoos, with poor, old and young, men and women, precious in the eyes of the Lord; more precious than the wise and mighty of this world. I have seen the base whom God has chosen to confound the nobles; the weak, to confound those that are mighty, in order that no flesh should glory in his presence. The power of God is more displayed in the conversion of a poor peasant, than in the creation of heaven and earth; for at the creation no power opposed, but at the conversion of an old woman, devil and hell, and even fellow creatures, are opposed, as the editors of the Calcutta Newspapers sufficiently testify.

## HISTORY OF THE REVEREND WILLIAM ADAM.

William Adam was formerly a Baptist Missionary: he entered into a religious discussion about the Divinity of Jesus Christ, with the celebrated Ramohun Roy, and was defeated by him; and William Adam (shudder my friends) forsook Christ, and forsook his mission, and declared himself to be a Unitarian; but from that time he soon became weary of speaking either about Trinity or Unity: he has become a pitiful writer of a newspaper of the most violent infidel principles, in which the affairs of the world, the lusts of the flesh, and the eyes, and the ears are eulogised. He who formerly treated about godly things, treats now with delight about ungodly things. He is now without God in the world, and his very visage is a picture of unhappiness! The fury of the Lord and the rebuke of his God is visible in his countenance.

Reverend Mr. Hough was sent by the Baptist Missionary Society from America to Rangoon; he publishes now a political religious newspaper, called the Philanthropist, and preaches at times at Serampore.

I received the following letter from the Rev. Mr. Duff on the 22nd of April.

*Calcutta, April 22, 1833,  
4 Wellington Square.*

My dear Wolff,

It grieved me much to learn of your illness, more particularly as your distance from Calcutta prevented the possibility of seeing you. I hope to hear from you before your final departure from this place, and I pray God that your valuable life may be preserved for the farther advance of his glory. You have addressed a letter to the Missionaries requesting any advice for the prosecution of your labours. My dear brother, I for one profess to be unable to give advice to one whose experience so vastly exceeds my own; your Mission I have always considered an extraordinary one, and requiring very peculiar qualifications. I always considered, that of all men you seemed to be an individual most capable of engaging in an enterprise of so interesting and novel a character; and sure I am that you do well to be close in walking with your God, and in maintaining the faith once delivered to the Saints. So long as your faith continues so lively, and your applications at the throne of grace so frequent and so fervent, I cannot think that God will leave you alone to your own guidance. No! he will never leave nor forsake those who put their trust in Him. I might say that it would be well to introduce the subject of the Millennium at all times with a notification, that you did not consider your view of it an essential article of faith, but merely as your own opinion, which you are ready to deliver when required.

I would suggest that you might always limit and define what you mean by the literal interpretation of prophecy; not literal always in word, but in the sense. I may add that it would be well, before the delivery of your lecture in any place, to explain more fully



your design, your intention, your object, and the plan to be adopted, viz: that of stating all that you saw and heard, nearly in the chronological order of their occurrence. This will prevent many cavils and idle remarks. Lastly I beg you to accept the inclosed brief notice of your lectures, which will appear in the next Christian Observer. Mr. Pearce has furnished me with a rough proof of it, not very elegant certainly, but sufficient to shew you what it is to be. Your sudden departure led me to request a proof in any state of preparation, that you might know that there are some, yea many, very many, who dissent in toto from the Calcutta papers. This notice was written before the attack of the Bengal Herald appeared; you see in it therefore my own genuine sentiments. I bless God that I have seen and heard you, and my prayer is for your welfare and success in the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ: if we meet not on earth, we shall, I hope, through divine grace, meet in heaven!

Yours very affectionately in the Lord,  
(Signed) ALEXANDER DUFF.

#### DEPARTURE FROM CALCUTTA.

*April 27.*—After having been again with Lord and Lady William Bentinck, and her Ladyship had kindly furnished me with all the necessaries for my voyage, I returned to Colonel Craigie, and Mrs. Craigie kindly accompanied me on board the steamer, which brought us to the Fifeshire.

Major Sutherland, late Private Secretary to Sir Charles Metcalfe, was one of the passengers, a very excellent and noble hearted gentleman: he was very friendly to me; I had been particularly recommended to him by Lady William Bentinck and Mrs. Craigie. The second fellow passenger was Mr. Morrice of the Factory in China. Thus my situation on board the Fifeshire was very pleasant, for on Sundays I always preached on board.

*May 19.*—I arrived at Masolipatam (called by the natives Majla Banda) on the Coromandel Coast, after a pleasant voyage of twenty-three days from our leaving Calcutta. The Rev. Mr. Lewis, the Chaplain of Masolipatam, had kindly invited me to his house; but I went afterwards to reside with Mr. Casamajor, the Circuit Judge. I met likewise with Captain Trullop, the nephew of Mrs. Trullop, who has written on America. The climate of this place is very unhealthy; great numbers of soldiers and officers die daily of apoplectic fits and cholera. I lectured and preached twice in the church.

*May 26.*—I left Masolipatam.

*June 1.*—I arrived safely by Dack, i. e. by the India land post, at Hyderabad, the residence of the Nizam, a Mohammedan Prince. I was most hospitably received in the house of Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, the British Minister at the court of His Highness the Nizam. The Colonel himself, with his lady and family, treated me most cordially. I gave lectures in the residency, to which all the British officers, who are stationed there for the protection of

the Nizam, were invited, with their ladies. On my arrival I received the following letter from Sir Frederic Adam, Governor of Madras.

*Madras, May 25th, 1833.*

Dear Sir,

The day before yesterday I had the pleasure to receive your first letter from Masolipatam, yesterday your second with its enclosures; they have been forwarded to their destinations. It will give me great satisfaction to renew my acquaintance with you formed at Corfu nearly seven years ago. Lord W. Bentinck had, before your letter reached me, already made me aware of your intention to visit Madras, and prepared me, not to be very much alarmed at your extraordinary enthusiasm.

We shall have great pleasure in seeing you here. I regret not to be able to give you any very recent accounts of Lady Georgiana; my latest accounts from Malta are of September, when her Ladyship was quite well. I hope, before you reach this place, to have letters from Europe, which will bring my Mediterranean letters, and to be enabled to give you more recent and I trust more satisfactory accounts. Accept my thanks for your journals and believe me,

Dear sir, very faithfully yours,  
(Signed)

FREDERICK ADAM.

I received at the same time a kind letter of invitation from the venerable Archdeacon of Madras, and from Colonel Cadell.

I preached here at Hyderabad, and made the acquaintance of real enlightened Christians in the cantonment, such as Captains Bell, Forbes, Walter, and Mr. Williams, &c.

#### INHABITANTS OF HYDERABAD.

The excessive heat at Hyderabad prevented me from going about among the Mussulmans; and besides this, Colonel Stewart informed me that they were great fanatics.

The following denominations are residing here: Indian Mohammedans; Hindoos of all castes; Arabs, especially from Hatramawt, a great many; Sikhs, a considerable number; a few half castes; a few Armenians, and Portuguese Catholics.

I met here in the residency a kind hearted Naval Officer, Captain More, who is Military Secretary to Colonel Stewart.

Here I met likewise with the Reverend Joseph Joachim de Rosario, Vicar and Missionary to the native and Portuguese Roman Catholics of this place. He is a black Portuguese from Goa, a good natured man. The native Roman Catholics in India observe caste just as the Hindoos do, except at Goa.

The half castes here are mostly Unitarians. Mr. Murray and Theophilus Roberts, their school masters, are supported by the Unitarians of London.

Theophilus Roberts visited me; he was well versed in those passages of Scripture only, which suited his purpose.

There is a gentleman here in the residency, who is charged with the trial of the Thugs, a gang of highway robbers, of whom I received in the residency a terrific description: let those who praise the dignity of human nature read the following official account.

#### THUGS.

The Thugs form a perfectly distinct class of persons, who subsist almost entirely upon robbery and murder. They appear to have received their name from their practice of decoying those persons they mark out for destruction; inducing them to join their company, and taking advantage of the confidence they endeavour to inspire, they strangle their unsuspecting victims. They are also known by the name of Phanseegur, and in the North Eastern part of the Nizam's dominions are usually called Kurk Bund. There are several peculiarities in the customs of the Thugs, in their method of causing death, and in the precautions they adopt for the prevention of discovery, which effectually distinguish them from every other class of delinquents; and it may be considered as a general rule whereby to know them, that they affect to disdain the practice of pilfering, housebreaking, and indeed every species of theft that is not preceded by the perpetration of murder.

The Thugs adopt no other mode for committing their murders than strangulation, and the only implement made use of for this purpose is a handkerchief, or any convenient strip of cloth.

The manner in which the deed is done will be described hereafter. They never attempt to rob a traveller till they have first deprived him of life; after the commission of a murder, if time and opportunity serve, they never neglect immediately to bury the body, or to conceal it in some way or other; and they never leave a corpse on the highway, unless they happen to be disturbed.

To trace the origin of this practice of murder, would be a matter of some difficulty; for if the assertions of the Thugs themselves are entitled to any credit, it has been the custom from time immemorial, and they pretend that its institution is coeval *with the creation of the world*. Like most other inhuman customs in this country, the traditions regarding it are mixed up with tales of Hindoo superstition; and the Thugs would wish to make it appear, that in immolating the numberless victims that yearly fall by their hands, they are only obeying the injunctions of the Deity they worship; to whom they say they are offering an acceptable sacrifice. The object of their worship is the goddess Kalee or Bhowanee, and there is a temple at Binda Chul near Mirzapoor, to which the Thugs send considerable offerings; and the establishment of priests at that shrine is entirely of their community. Bhowanee, it seems, once formed a determination to extirpate the human race, and sacrificed all but her own disciples. But she discovered to her astonishment, that through the interposition of the creating Power, whenever human blood was shed, a fresh subject immediately started into existence, to supply the vacancy she had caused; she therefore formed an image into which she infused the principle

of life, and calling her disciples together she instructed them in the art of depriving that being of life, by strangling it with a handkerchief. This method was found on trial to be effectual, and the goddess directed her worshippers to adopt it, and to murder without distinction all who should fall into their hands, promising herself to dispose of the bodies of their victims; their property was to be bestowed on her followers, and she was to be present, and to preside over, and to protect them on those occasions, so that none should be able to prevail against them.

Thus, say the Thugs, was our order established, and we originally took no care of the bodies of those who fell by our hands, but abandoned them wherever they were strangled, until one man, more curious than the rest, ventured to watch the body he had murdered, in the expectation of witnessing the manner in which it would be disposed of. The goddess of his worship descended as usual to carry away the corpse; but observing that this man was on the look out, she relinquished her purpose, and calling him angrily, rebuked him for his temerity, telling him she could no longer perform her promise regarding the bodies of the murdered; and that his associates must hereafter dispose of them in the best way they could: thus, they say, arose the practice, invariably followed by the Thugs, of burying the dead, and to this circumstance principally is to be attributed the extraordinary manner in which their atrocities have remained unknown; for with such circumspection and secrecy do they act, and such order and regularity is there in all their proceedings, that it is next to impossible that a particular murder should ever be discovered.

Absurd as the foregoing relation may appear, it has had this effect on the minds of the Thugs, that they do not seem to be visited with any of those feelings of remorse or compunction at the inhuman deeds in which they have participated, which are commonly supposed to be, at some period of their lives, the portion of all who have trafficked in human blood. On the contrary, they dwell with satisfaction on the recollection of their various and successful exploits,\* and refer with no small degree of pride and exultation to the affairs in which they have been personally engaged, especially if the number of their victims has been great, or the plunder they have acquired extensive.

Notwithstanding the observance amongst Thugs of Hindoo rites of worship, a very considerable number of them are Mussulmans; no judgment of the birth or caste of a Thug can however be formed from his name; for it not unfrequently happens, that a Hindoo Thug has a Mussulman name, with a Hindoo alias attached to it; and vice versâ with respect to Thugs who are by birth Mohammedans. In almost every instance the Thugs have more than one appellation, by means of which the Mussulman Thugs may be recognised. Some are to be found of every sect, Sheikh, Seyud,

\* I myself have witnessed the truth of this assertion, on my examining the Thugs at Hyderabad.



Moghul and Pathan; and among the Hindoos, the castes chiefly to be met with, are Brahmins, Rajpoots, Lodhees, Aheers, Kolees. In a gang of Thugs, some of every one of these castes may be found, all connected together by their peculiar system of murder, all subject to the same regulations, and all, both Mussulmans and Hindoos, joining in the worship of Bhowanee. They usually move in large bodies, often amounting to from 100 to 200 persons, and resort to all manner of subterfuges to conceal their real profession. If they are travelling southward, they represent themselves either to be in quest of service, or on their way to rejoin the regiments they pretend to belong to, in this part of the country. When, on the contrary, their route is toward the North, they call themselves Sepoys, from the Bombay or Nizam army, who are going on leave to Hindoostan. The gangs do not always consist of persons who are Thugs by birth. It is customary for them, by holding out the promise of monthly pay, or the hopes of amassing money, to entice many to join them, who are ignorant of the deeds of death that are to be perpetrated for the attainment of their objects; until made aware of the reality, by seeing the victims of their cupidity fall under the hands of the stranglers. The Thugs declare that novices have occasionally been so horrified at the sight, as to have effected their immediate escape, others, more callous to the commission of crime, are not deterred from the pursuit of gain by the frightful means adopted to obtain it, and remaining with the gang, too soon begin personally to assist in the perpetration of murder.

Many of the most notorious Thugs are the adopted children of others of the same class. They make it a rule when a murder is committed, never to spare the life of any one present, either male or female, who is old enough to remember and relate the particulars of the deed. But in the event of their meeting with children of such a tender age, as to make it impossible they should reveal the fact, they generally spare their lives, and adopting them, bring them up to the trade of Thuggee. These men of course eventually become acquainted with the particulars of the murder of their fathers and mothers, by the very persons with whom they have dwelt since their childhood, but they still go on following the same dreadful trade.

It might be expected that a class of people whose hearts must be effectually hardened against all the better feelings of humanity, would be troubled with few scruples of conscience; but in point of fact they are as much the slaves of superstition, and as much directed by the observation of omens in the commission of their murders, as the most inoffensive of the natives of India are in the ordinary affairs of life.

The chief symbol of worship among the Thugs is a Khoddee or pickaxe of iron. It is known among them by the names of Nishan, Kussee, and Mahee. With every gang there is carried a Nishan, which is in fact their standard, and the bearer of it is entitled to particular privileges. Previous to commencing an expedition, the Jemadars of the party celebrate a Poojah (a religious ceremony) to

the Nishan or pickaxe, which is typical of the duty of their worship. The ceremonies differ little from the usual rites of Hindoos on similar occasions. A Hindoo Thug of good caste is employed to make a quantity of the cakes called Poories, which being consecrated by an offering to the idol, are distributed among the assembly. The Nishan is bathed and perfumed in the smoke of burning Bensoin, and is afterwards made over to the Nishan Wallah, who receives it on a piece of cloth kept for that purpose. It is then taken out into the open fields, in the expectation of an omen being observed. The Nishan is deposited in a convenient spot in the direction that the party intends to proceed, and certain persons are deputed to keep watch over it. There are particular birds and beasts that are looked upon by the Thugs as the revealers of omens, to whose calls and movements their attention is on this occasion particularly directed. Among these are the owl, the jay, the jack-all, the ass, &c. If one of these calls out, or passes them from the right hand side, the omen is looked upon as favourable; but if from the left, it is considered unpropitious, and the project is abandoned. It is not unusual for the Thugs to look for an auspicious omen previous to committing a murder, and they are frequently deterred from carrying their intentions immediately into effect, by observing an unfavourable sign, such as smoke crossing their path when in pursuit of a victim, or the circumstance of any of the animals before mentioned calling out on their left hand side. This no doubt accounts for Thugs so often keeping company with travellers for many days previous to murdering them, although they had determined upon their sacrifice from the moment of their first joining the party. The omen is denominated Soogoon.

In the event of an expedition proving more than ordinarily successful, a Poojah is usually made to Bhowanee, and a portion of the spoil taken by the gang, is set aside for the purpose of being sent to the Pagoda before alluded to, as an offering to the goddess. Propitiatory offerings are also made, and various ceremonies performed before the Khoddee or Nishan, should the Thugs have failed in obtaining any plunder for a length of time.

In every gang of Thugs there are to be found one or more Jemadars, who appear to hold that rank not by the choice of their followers, but in consequence of their wealth and influence in their respective villages, enabling them to assemble the party. The profits of a Jemadar are of course greater than those of his followers. He receives six and a half or seven per cent. on all silver coin, and other property not hereafter specified, and then has a share of the remainder in common with the other Thugs of the party. When gold is obtained in coin or in mass, the tenth part is taken by the Jemadar previous to dividing it, and he has a tithe of all pearls, shawls, gold embroidered cloths, brass and copper pots, horses, &c. The Jemadar acts as Master of the Ceremonies when Poojah is performed, and he assigns to every Thug the particular duty he is to execute in the commission of every murder

that is determined on. These duties are undertaken in succession by all the Thugs of the party, and to the regularity and system that exists among them, is to be attributed the unparalleled success that has attended their proceedings.

Next to the Jemadar one of the most important personages is the Buttoat or Strangler, who carries the handkerchief with which the Thugs usually murder their victims. This implement is merely a piece of fine strong cotton cloth about a yard long. At one end a knot is made, and the cloth is slightly twisted and kept ready for use, concealed in the waistband of the person carrying it. There is no doubt but that all the Thugs are expert in the use of the handkerchief, which is called Roomal or Paloo; but if they are to be believed, only particular persons are called upon or permitted to perform the office of Strangler, when a large gang is collected. The most able bodied and alert of the number are fixed upon as Buttoats, and they become the bearers of the handkerchief only after the performance of various and often expensive ceremonies; and never without the observation of a favourable omen. The old and experienced Thugs are denominated Gooroo Bhow, and the junior Thugs make a merit of attending on them, preparing their Hookahs, shampooing their bodies and performing the most menial offices. They gradually become initiated into all the mysteries of the art of murder, and if they prove to be powerful men, the disciples of the Gooroo are promoted to be Buttoats. The Thugs say that if one of them was alone, and had never before strangled a person, he would not presume to make use of the handkerchief until he observed a favourable omen. The ceremonies with regard to the handkerchief are much the same as those described in carrying out the Nishan, the handkerchief being on this occasion substituted; an offering of rice, cocoa nut, &c. is made. When a murder is to be committed, the Buttoat usually follows the particular person he has been directed by the Jemadar to strangle, and on the preconcerted signal being given, the Roomal is seized with the knot on the left hand, the right hand being nine or ten inches further up, in which manner it is thrown over the head of the person to be strangled; the two hands are crossed as the victim falls, and such is the certainty with which the deed is done, as the Thugs themselves frequently declare, that before the body reaches the ground, the eyes usually start out of the head, and life is extinct. Should the person to be strangled prove an active man, or the Buttoat be inexpert, another Thug lays hold of the end of the handkerchief. The perfection of the art is described to be attained when several persons are simultaneously murdered, without any of them having time to utter a sound, or to become aware of the fate of their companions. Favourable opportunities are afforded for Buttoats to make their first essay in the art of strangling. When a single traveller is met with, a novice is instructed to make a trial of his skill, and the party sets off during the night, and stops, while it is still dark, to smoke, or drink water. While seated for this purpose, the Jemadar enquires what hour of night it may be, and the

Thugs immediately look up at the stars to ascertain the time; this is the preconcerted signal, and the Buttoat is immediately on the alert, and the unsuspecting traveller, on looking up at the heavens like the rest of the party, offers his neck in right position for the prepared handkerchief, and becomes an easy prey to the murderer. The Buttoat receives eight annas extra for every murder he commits, and if the plunder is great, some article is assigned him over and above the common shares. The persons intended to be murdered are distinguished by different names, according to their sect, profession, wealth, &c. A traveller having much property is called Niamud, and victims are generally entitled Bunj.

To aid the Buttoat in the perpetration of the murder, another Thug is specially appointed under the designation of Sumssoat; his business is to seize the person to be strangled by the wrists, if he be on foot; and by one of the legs if he is on horseback, and thus to pull him down. A Sumssoat is told off to each traveller, and he places himself in a convenient situation near him, to be ready when required.

In the event of the traveller being mounted on horseback, a third Thug assists under the designation of Bhugdurra. His business is to lay hold of the horse's bridle, and check it as soon as the signal for murder is given.

One of the most important persons in a gang of Thugs goes by the name of Tillace. The Thugs do not always depend upon chance for obtaining plunder, or roam about in the expectation of meeting with travellers, but frequently take up their quarters in or near a large town, on some great thoroughfare, from whence they make excursions according to the information obtained by the Tillaces. These men are chosen from amongst the most smooth spoken and intelligent of their number, and their chief duty is to gain information. For this purpose they are decked out in the garb of respectable persons, whose appearance they must have the tact of putting on. They parade the bazaars of the town near which their associates are encamped, and endeavour to pick up intelligence of the intended despatch, or expected arrival of goods; information is forthwith given to the gang, who send out a party to intercept them. Enquiry is also made for any band of travellers, who may have arrived and put up in the Chowree or elsewhere. Every art is brought into practice to make acquaintance with these people. They are given to understand that the Tillace is travelling the same road, and an opportunity is taken to throw out hints regarding their danger, and the frequency of murders and robberies. An acquaintance with some of the relatives and friends of the travellers is feigned, and an invitation given to partake of the repast prepared at the place where the Tillace has put up, the convenience of which, and the superiority of the water, are abundantly praised. The result usually is, that the travellers are inveigled into joining the party of Thugs, and they are feasted and treated with every politeness and consideration, by the very wretches who are plotting their murder, and calculating the share they shall ac-



quire on their division of the spoil. What must be the feelings of men who are actuated by motives so entirely opposed to their pretended civility of behaviour, it must be difficult to imagine, and I know not whether most to admire the consummate duplicity with which they contrive to conceal their purpose, or to detest the infernal apathy with which they can eat out of the same dish, and drink of the very cup that is partaken of by the victims they have fixed upon for destruction.

It is on the perfection which they have attained in the art of acting as Tillaces, that the Thugs particularly pride themselves; and it is a frequent boast with them, that it is only necessary to have an opportunity of conversing once with a traveller, to be able to mark him as a certain victim, whenever they choose to murder him.

Instances sometimes occur where a party of Thugs find their victims too numerous for them to master, while they remain in a body; but they are seldom at a loss for expedients for creating dissensions, and a consequent division of the party. But if all these arts of intrigue and cajolery fail in producing the desired result, an occasion is taken advantage of to ply the travellers with intoxicating liquors: a quarrel is brought about, and from words they proceed to blows, which ends in the dispersion of the company, who, proceeding on different roads, fall an easier prey to their remorseless destroyers.

Having enticed the travellers into the snare that has been laid for them, the next object of the Thugs is to choose a convenient spot for committing the murder; this, in the technical language current among them, is denominated a Bhal, and is usually fixed upon at a short distance from a village, on the banks of a Nullah, where the trees and underwood afford a shelter from the view of occasional passengers. The Thug who is sent forward on this duty is called a Bhilla, and having fixed on the place, he either returns to the encampment of his party, or meets them on the way to report the result of his enquiry.

If the Bhilla returns to the camp with his report, the Suggaees or grave diggers are sent out with him to prepare a grave for the interment of the persons it is intended to murder. Arrangements are previously made, so that the party, with the travellers in company, shall not arrive too soon at the Bhal. At the particular spot agreed on, the Bhilla meets the gang; a recognition takes place; the Jemadar calls out, "Bhilla Manjet," Have you cleansed out the whole? the Bhilla replies, "Manjet," on which the concerted signal is given, that serves as the death warrant of the unheeding travellers, who are forthwith strangled. While some are employed in rifling the bodies, others assist in carrying them away to the ready prepared graves. The Suggaees perform the task of burying them, and the remainder of the gang proceeds on its journey, leaving with them a certain number of Tillaces as watchmen on the look out to prevent their being disturbed. Should a casual passenger appear, a Tillace gently throws a stone among the Sug-

gaaes or grave diggers, who immediately desist from their work, and crouch on the ground until the danger is over. After the interment is completed, the Suggaees rejoin their party; but it is not unusual to leave one or more of the Tillaces to keep watch to prevent the bodies being dug up by beasts of prey; or if a discovery should be made by the village people, to give instant information to their companions, that they may have the opportunity of getting out of the way.

But it often happens that the arrangements and precautions above mentioned cannot be entered into, and that travellers are met with on the road, who are hastily murdered, and as hastily interred. In these cases, if the opportunity is afforded them, the Thugs always leave some one to keep watch at the place; and rather than run the risk of discovery by the bodies being dug up by wild animals, they will return and re-inter them. If the ground is stony, they never touch the corpse; but if the soil is of such a nature as to render it probable that the bodies in swelling will burst the graves, they transfix them with their spears or knives, which effectually prevents it.

When the Thugs choose to strangle their victims in some more exposed situation, as in a garden near a village, where they may have put up for the night, they resort to further precautions to prevent discovery. The grave is on this occasion prepared on the spot, after the murder has been committed, and the corpses having been deposited therein, the superfluous soil is carried away in bundles, and thrown into the neighbouring fields. The place is watered and beaten down with sticks; it is then plastered over with cow-dung, and Choolahs or fire-places for cooking are made on the spot. If the party find it necessary to decamp, they light fires in the Choolahs, that they may have the appearance of having been used to cook there. Should they determine on staying, they use these Choolahs for cooking their food on the succeeding day, having few qualms of conscience to prevent their enjoying the viands prepared on a spot, the associations attendant on which, might be considered too revolting to dwell upon. The parties of Thugs being often very large, they have many beasts of burden in their train, such as bullocks, and sometimes even camels; if therefore they remain at a place where they have committed a murder, and do not construct fire-places, they take the precaution of tying their cattle on the spot. The Thugs say they can always recognise the fire-places of persons of their own class, there being peculiar marks about them, made purposely to serve as directions to the next party that may pass the same way.

The Thugs always prefer burying their victims at some distance from the public road, and therefore as soon as the bodies of murdered persons have been stripped of the property found upon them, they are carried on the shoulders of the Suggaees to the spot selected for interring them. They say they are more careless about the concealment of corpses in the Nizam's country than elsewhere; for they have always been so secure from molestation, that they

have frequently left bodies entirely exposed, without running any risk; for no one takes the trouble of making any enquiry.

The division of spoil does not usually take place immediately after the perpetration of a murder; but every person secures a portion of the property on the spot; and when a convenient opportunity arrives, each person produces his part of the plunder, and a division is then made by the Jemadar, whose share is in the first instance deducted. Then the Buttoats, the Sumssoats, and the Bhugdurrachs, claim their extra reward for each murder at which they have assisted. The Tillace also receives his share for inveigling a traveller into their snares. The Suggae takes his recompense for the trouble he had in digging the grave; the residue is divided share and share alike, among the whole gang. It may be supposed that the cupidity of individual Thugs will occasionally induce them to attempt to defraud their comrades, by secreting some article of value, at the time the murdered bodies are plundered. But they say the whole class are bound by inviolable oath to produce for the common stock every thing that may fall into their hands, while engaged with any party.

As it may be imagined, the division of plunder often leads to violent disputes, which, it is astonishing, never terminate in bloodshed. It might be supposed that the Thugs had a prejudice against spilling blood, for when pursued, they never make use of the weapons they usually bear; not even in defence of their own persons. The most wanton prodigality occurs when plunder is divided; and should any difference of opinion arise as to the appropriation of their spoil, the most valuable shawls and brocades are often torn into strips and distributed among the gang. The Thugs say, this is done that every person may run the same risk; for such articles could not be shared equally among them unless converted into money, and some danger is attendant on the transaction. They appear to make it a rule to destroy all Hondees (letters of credit) that fall into their hands, as well as many other articles that are likely to lead to detection. Ready money is what they chiefly desire, and when they have a choice of victims, the possessors of gold and silver would certainly be fixed upon in preference to others: consequently it seems to have been a general practice among the Bundelkund Thugs to waylay the parties of Sepoys of the Bombay and Nizam's army, when going upon leave to Hindoostan, for the sake of the specie they usually have; and they remark that of the numerous Sepoys who are supposed by their officers to have abandoned the service, and by their friends and relatives to be still with their regiments, they alone can tell the fate, the whole number having been strangled by their hands. The immense wealth that has at various times fallen into the hands of these miscreants, is expended in the grossest extravagance and debauchery; so these their ill gotten gains remain but a short time in their possession.

The Thugs have not exactly a language of their own, but slang terms and phrases which give them the means of holding a con-

versation with persons of their own class without any chance of being understood by the uninitiated. Their term of salutation whereby also they recognise each other, if they casually meet without being personally acquainted, is "Ali Khan Bhan Sulaum." What appears most extraordinary is the manner in which the Thugs recollect the names of their comrades, as well as their persons, and they declare that though the name of any one of a gang may have escaped their recollection, they never forget the person of a Thug, who assisted with them in the perpetration of a murder. The Thugs indeed seem to know each other almost intuitively; and the quickness with which recognition between individuals takes place is surprising, so as to warrant the supposition that a sort of Freemasonry system of signs has been established among them.

To facilitate their plan of operations, the Thugs have established a regular system of intelligence and communication throughout the countries they have been in the practice of frequenting, and they become acquainted with astonishing celerity with the proceedings of their comrades in all directions. They omit no opportunity of making enquiries respecting other gangs; and are equally particular in supplying the requisite information concerning their own movements. For this purpose they have connected themselves with several persons residing in the Nizam's dominions, as Patails and cultivators of villages, many of the latter of whom follow the profession of Thuggee in conjunction with their agricultural pursuits. The Marwaries, and other petty bankers, are also frequently the channels of communication between Thugs, and there is no doubt of their being the purchasers of the property of the murdered. The religious mendicants throughout the country occasionally assist by taking messages from bands of Thugs, to be delivered to the next party that may come in their way. With this view also they have adopted the practice of forming *Choolahs* or fire places of a particular construction, to serve as marks of their progress through the country. When a party of Thugs come to a road that branches off in two directions, they make a mark for the guidance of their associates who may come after them, in the following manner. The soil in a convenient spot is carefully smoothed, and the print of a foot is distinctly stamped upon it. A Thug, on seeing this mark, which he searches for, knows by the direction which it points, what track has been followed by those who preceded him.

The peculiar designation by which they are known is a point on which the Thugs are particularly tenacious, and they attach to it a great importance, and even claim a degree of respectability for their profession, that they say no other class of delinquents is entitled to. The denomination of thief is one that is peculiarly offensive to them, and they always solicit the erasure of this term, and the substitution of that of Thug, whenever it may occur in a paper regarding them; declaring that so far from following the disgraceful practices of a thief, they scorn the name, and can prove themselves to be honest and trust worthy, when occasion requires it.

It seems their ambition is to be considered respectable persons,



and with this view they expend much of their gain on personal decoration. Even those who have been seized, and admitted as informers, are more solicitous about their dress and decent appearance, than any thing else. They mostly seem to be men of mild and unobtrusive manners, possessing cheerfulness of disposition entirely different from the violent passionate character and the ferocious demeanour usually attributed to hardened murderers.

Such is the extent to which this dreadful system has been carried, that no calculation can be made of the numbers who have fallen victims to it: when it is taken into consideration, that many of the Thugs who have been seized confess, having for the last twenty-five or thirty years annually made circuits with parties of more than a hundred men, with no other object than that of murder and rapine, and boast of having daily put ten or twenty persons to death, and that they say an enumeration of all the persons they have each individually assisted to destroy, would swell the catalogue to hundreds, and as some declare to thousands, some notion of this horrid destruction of life may be formed, and of the amount of the property thus taken; for independent of the thousands in ready money, jewels, and bullion, the loads of valuable cloths, and every description of merchandise, that continually fall into their hands, the hoondies that they invariably destroy must amount to a considerable sum.

The impunity with which the Thugs have heretofore carried on their merciless proceedings, the ease with which they recruit their numbers, which are restricted to no particular caste or sect, and the facility with which they have purchased their release, when seized by the officers of the weak native Governments, in whose dominions they have usually committed their greatest depredations, have altogether tended to confirm the system, and spread it to such a fearful extent, that the life of no traveller in this country has been safe; and it seemed only by some happy chance that even large parties have ever escaped the fangs of these blood thirsty demons.

#### DERVISHES.

The distinguished Fakeers, Dervishes, and holy men in Persia, Cashmeer, and Hindoostaun, received from the Mussulmans the title of Shah, "King." The holy man, to whom Abraham brought the tenth, had the title of מלכי צדק (Melchi Kedek), King of justice. The Princes of Persia, and of Hindoostaun, give their Dervishes the Nazr, i. e. the Vowed Present: and as Melchi Zedek brought forth bread and wine, so also the old Dervishes bring the traveller of distinction Bread and Rose-water.

#### JOURNEY FROM HYDERABAD TO MADRAS.

*June 27.*—After having taken leave of my friends at Hyderabad, I left the family of Colonel Stewart, and set out for Madras, which is 380 miles from Hyderabad; travelling mostly at night (for the heat was so great, that the palanquin was like an oven) I arrived, after a journey of two days, at Ramahpatam. Scarcely had I entered the bungalow belonging to Mr. Bruce, the Collector of Nel-

lore (who had given previous orders to his native servants to receive me), when I was violently attacked with that dire disease, the cholera morbus; it began with a most violent vomiting, accompanied with cramp and dysentery. No English person, or any European, was near me; I had just strength enough to make known in three lines my state to Mr. Bruce, requesting him (as I did not expect to live half an hour longer), to give notice of my death to my wife at Malta, and to send her my journals. I then lay down upon the sofa, continuing to vomit for two hours. I recommended my soul to God; my hands and feet became convulsed; but through the whole of my sufferings, I felt perfect peace in our Lord Jesus Christ; I prayed to him that he would be pleased to send me some relief, when suddenly I heard a voice, exclaiming in English, "I see, you have the cholera morbus, my husband died of that disorder, two months ago." The person who spoke, was the wife of a sergeant of Vellore of the name of Gilespie, who was going from Vellore to Madras, with the intention of proceeding from thence to her daughter at Onore; arriving the same day with me at Ramahpatam, she learned from the natives that I had been taken ill, and she hastened to my assistance. She gave me first a whole bottle of brandy with 200 drops of laudanum, and other remedies, which only stopt the vomiting at intervals. The next morning Dr. Cooper arrived, being sent from Nellore by Mr. Bruce; he prayed with me, gave me warm water with salt, and twice forty grains of calomel, which stopt the vomiting for two hours; but when I had a third relapse in the evening, he told me that I should inform him what might be my last will; he sent off, at the same time, two notes to Nellore, saying that he had but little hopes of my recovery, and he confessed to me that he did not think I should be alive next morning. He asked me whether I would submit to his putting a hot iron upon my stomach; I said "yes;" he branded me consequently three times upon my stomach, which, God be praised, stopt the cholera morbus entirely; he then thought it adviseable, after a stay of four days in the inn of Ramahpatam, to have me carried in a palanquin to Nellore, to the house of Mr. Bruce, the Collector, where I was for twenty days in a very critical state, on account of a bilious fever which followed; however, after one month's stay I recovered so far, that I attempted to proceed in a palanquin on my way to Madras. When I was as far as forty miles distant from Nellore, I was attacked with a violent spasm, which obliged the palanquin bearers to carry me upon their shoulders back to a native bungalow. Most fortunately Mr. Prendergast, the sub-Collector, was only four miles distant living in a tent; he came, carried me to his tent, and sent immediately a horseman to Nellore, and dear Dr. Cooper came a second time to assist me. I staid there four days in the tent, and set out for Madras, still very ill. I was there most kindly received in the house of Colonel Cadell, where I was soon surrounded by dear Christians, as Messrs. Dobbs, Brown, Shaw, Clulow, Bannister; and after a quiet stay of fourteen days, I was enabled to preach in the dissenting chapel, invited by the

zealous Missionaries Smith, Drew, and Taylor. "Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord for all His goodness, and declare the wonders that he does unto the children of men."

I lectured here at different times, and twice at a spot seven miles distant from Madras, at the station upon St. Thomas' Mount, where it is believed that St. Thomas, one of our Lord's Apostles, suffered martyrdom. It is testified by tradition, in the East, and by Fathers of the Church. My friends at Madras however did not allow me to go much about, as my health was still in a precarious state, so that I was not able to visit the native Catholic Christians, and Hindoo Protestants. I confess that I have no confidence in either of them. The converts to the protestant religion under the direction of Mr. Irion, the Missionary of the society for the propagation of the Gospel, lately insulted their pastor in the church, on account of his opposition to their observing caste.

Having had a letter from Mr. La Croix for Dr. Rotler, I called on him; he was a fellow labourer of the famous Missionary Schwarz; he is 85 years of age, and is now retired and receives a pension from his society.

There are no Jews permanently residing at Madras, some however come occasionally from Cochin to Madras.

#### GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

Sir Frederick Adams, Governor of Madras, is not only a weak and most consummate Jack in office, but a real follower and imitator of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin, for he orders the British soldiers to present arms in honour of the Hindoo Idols at their festivals, and hypocritically orders money to be distributed among the Brahmins, that they should pray to their Idols for rain.

*There is not a more ungodly Governor on the face of the earth, and one more unfit for his situation, than Sir Frederick Adams. His whole political science and skill, consists in proving to the Hindoos that he is afraid of them, and therefore would be ready in order that they may do him no harm, to countenance idolatry, and even make idolaters of the English themselves. Sir Frederick Adams has all the wicked dispositions of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin, without having the talents of Jeroboam! for Sir Frederick Adams never could have made himself King! not only not in Israel, but even not in Liliput!*

#### DEPARTURE FROM MADRAS.

August 31.—My dear friends Mr. Clulow, the Rev. Mr. Tucker, and Mr. Dobbs came to Mr. Conolly, the brother of the traveller, to take leave of me; we for the last time prayed together, and I then set out for Cochin, in a palanquin. Colonel Cadell and Clulow, and Mr. M'Clean had kindly paid the expenses of the dack as far as Cochin;\* and had given me letters for the active Missionaries Rhenius, Schaffter, Winkler, and Mueller.

\* A man who has neither silver nor gold of his own, is not attached to any society, and has solemnly vowed that of his wife's portion he will not appropriate a single farthing for his own use and

*September 1.*—Arrived at Sadras, formerly belonging to the Dutch; inhabited by descendants of the Dutch and Semi-Europeans, and several native catholics, who have a native Priest.

The Collector, Mr. M'Cleane, with his lady, were absent; but he had kindly given orders to his servants, previous to his departure, to receive me well; they in consequence had prepared breakfast and dinner for me. He likewise had franked my dack as far as Pondichery.

In the evening I set out for Pondichery, and was most hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. M'Kenzie. Pondichery is a French settlement, and is mostly inhabited by French, born in this place, and by native catholics. A French Bishop is here with some other French Missionaries. Even the native catholic Priests observe the distinctions of caste. Mr. M'Kenzie was kind enough to introduce me to the French Bishop, an old gentleman, who is sent here by the Propaganda of France, which has no connection with that of Rome.

*Sept. 2.*—I arrived at Cuddalore, where I was most kindly received by the amiable and pious Chaplain of the station, the Rev. Mr. Halwell, who procured the court house, that I might be enabled to lecture to the station.

*Sept. 3.*—I gave a long lecture, which was well attended; I endeavoured to impress upon the minds of my hearers the preciousness of faith in Christ; of that evidence of things unseen; of that substance of things hoped for, which does not consist in mere knowledge, but in power. How excellent is faith! it gives spiritual liberty from sin, death, the devil, hell, and the curse of the law; rest, peace, consolation, joy, union with Christ as the bridegroom with the bride. "And I will betroth thee unto me for ever." Hosea ii. 19, 20. And this is the reason why believers in Jesus Christ suffer, when the bridegroom is dishonoured; for the faithful bride sympathizes with her husband; and the world, which hates the husband, hates the bride too; but as Christ, the husband, is wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, the bride, or the believers, come into possession of these properties by the rights of her husband; for they become one: "That they may be one with me as I am one with Thee!"

Such a faith in Christ gives us final assurance of being one of the elect of God; which doctrine the world cannot bear, for they cannot understand it; and a believer, who speaks to a man of the world about final assurance, receives generally as an answer, "You blaspheme!" Therefore a believer, in speaking with a man of the world, ought not at once to tell him this, but like Paul first give him milk, by which I mean Christ crucified, by which they are brought out of the world. Paul, after having proved by a long train of argument, that there is no condemnation to those who are

Missionary labours, will not surely be taxed with meanness for having accepted, as I had, with feelings of gratitude, the assistance of others in the course of my travels, especially from those christian friends who deemed the workman worthy of his hire.



in Christ Jesus, burst forth at length in rapture: "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord!" It is true, that the life of the man of faith is a warfare; but he obtains the victory over sin, darkness, death, hell and the world! 1 John v. 5.

## ARRIVAL AT MAYAVERAM.

*Sept. 5.*—I arrived at Mayaveram, where I took up my abode with the excellent Missionary Mr. Winkler, whose converts to Christianity I saw, and never in my life was so much touched and edified, as I was by those poor Hindoo women converted to Christ. I asked one who had been lately baptized by Winkler, whether she really loved Christ; the poor old woman spoke with an expression of feeling about her love to Christ, as her God and Saviour, which might have put Dr. Channing to the blush. Winkler has likewise established a school beautifully arranged. He is since gone to Germany on account of ill health. I lectured twice in Winkler's house. Mr. Camerer, a Danish Missionary at Tranquebar, came here to see me. His fellow labourer there is a Sociinian. Mr. Winkler is a Missionary to the Church Missionary Society.

*Sept. 7.*—He accompanied me to Combaconum, 20 E. m. distant from Mayaveram, where I was most hospitably received by Mr. Thomas, Judge of the district. I gave a lecture here to the English, and preached in the chapel of Mr. Crisp, the Missionary of the London Missionary Society. Mr. Crisp is highly spoken of on account of his zeal, piety, and uprightness; he has a school of native children.

## ARRIVAL AT TRICHINOPOLI,

A considerable station of military, and of civilians. I lived in the house of Mr. Blair, the Collector. I preached here on the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the vicinity of Trichinopoli, there is a sect of Hindoos called Kuller, which means thief; their profession, as well as that of their ancestors, is stealing. I learn that they observe the rite of circumcision. They are divided into two classes: that of Mellore, and that of Anyoornand Kuller; they do not intermarry.

The Rev. Messrs. Schreyvogel and Thompson are Missionaries of the society for the propagation of the Gospel. Mr. Thompson, who is stationed at Tanjore, appeared to me to be a pious man.

*Sept. 9.*—I preached in the evening to some soldiers, in a chapel established by Capt. Welch.

*Sept. 10.*—Sevame Dawson, of Hindoo descent, the son of a Hindoo converted by Schwarz, called on me, and desired me to explain to him my views respecting the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

There are 150 native Christians at Trichinopoli, who observe the distinction of caste, except at the Lord's table.

*Sept. 10, 11, 12.*—I lectured again to a crowded congregation. When the last lecture was over, I set out for Madura. Arriving at Mellore, I received a letter from Mr. Hooper, the Judge of Madura, inviting me to take up my abode with him; a brotherly letter was enclosed from the Rev. Mr. Rhenius, the greatest Missionary, I believe, who has ever appeared since the time of the Apostles; more enterprising, more bold, and more talented than even Schwarz himself: the number of Hindoos to whose conversion he has been instrumental, amounts to 12000. He kindly invited me to come to his station Palamcottah.

*Sept. 14.*—I arrived at Madura, and was most kindly received by Mr. Hooper. I lectured in his house.

*Sept. 15.*—In the evening I set out for Palamcottah in the palanquin. My friends may now trace my wanderings in the land of Hindoostaun. The peace of God has not departed from me; even when captive among the people of Khorossaun, his peace did not depart from me; and when slandered by infidels, his peace has not departed from me!

#### WHITE AND BLACK JEWS.

I met with one of the white Jews of Cochin, Abraham Isaac by name. Though I intend to speak particularly of these Jews, I shall insert occasionally whatever I hear about them. This Abraham Isaac of the family of Sargon, the brother of a converted Jew, intends going to Constantinople. He listened with attention to my preaching. He informed me that the white Jews came to Cochin from different parts of Europe 700 years ago. There are eighty white Jews at Cochin. The white Jews have one synagogue, and the black Jews two. There are black Jews in the neighbourhood of Cochin, in the following places: Anjeekmaal, where there are one hundred black Jews, who have two synagogues. Shenot, where they have no synagogue. Parow: one synagogue. Malee: ten Jews without a synagogue.

#### REFLECTIONS.

There are many Hindoos reputed to be possessed by the devil; vain attempts are made to dispossess them in a strange manner, i. e. with a stick or wand. I firmly believe that there are such people now, as there were assuredly in the time of Christ. I myself, when travelling with my wife in the desert of Egypt, heard the evil spirit speak out of an Arab, whilst the Arab all the time was speaking with his natural voice.

Religion is a glorious whole, an harmonious temple; destroy one part, and the whole is shaken or disfigured. To a person who tries to conceal or to alter one part, the whole must appear without harmony. Such persons will go on from one part to another, until the whole beauty disappears; and those, who view religion in such an unconnected manner, surrender it peace meal, and will ultimately abandon it altogether. The most beautiful object may appear deformed, if looked at with a prejudiced eye, or with the eye of

an anatomist, who investigates only by small and detached portions, without regard to the congruity of the whole.

The boldness of those who have denied scriptural truths has been received by some with indifference, by others with delight; they rejoice to hear nothing more of the existence of the devil; for many people are, as Count Stolberg said, like the ostrich, who puts his head under his wings as soon as he perceives the hunter, and then feels himself to be safe. The idea has become current, that the Scriptures present to us mere phantoms, and oriental imagery. But from the most ancient traditions, the idea of fallen and hostile spirits has been found to exist among all nations, represented in divers manners. The whole has been rejected, and even ridiculed by arrogant newspaper scribblers; though all delusions and erroneous traditions must have been founded upon some primitive and original truth. Others call those possessions mere bodily disorder and sickness. If it is said that the Son of God commanded those devils to go out, one replies by saying, that Jesus Christ accommodated himself to the prejudices and current opinions of the times. Those who say this, are worse reasoners than the Jews, who admitted the fact, when they objected that he cast out devils by the Prince of the devils: but these half Christians of the present day affirm, that He, who came into the world to bear testimony unto the truth, confirmed a delusion by a miracle from heaven. To what purpose should our Lord have accommodated himself to the superstition of the time? for would the Jews have the less believed him if he had said, these are no possessions, but mere maladies, and permitted in order that you may believe in me, if I cure them by the power of my word? But he was far from doing so, he *cast out* devils, and he gave the same power to his disciples. Did the son of God deceive his Church when he said, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven?" Was it the *sickness* of the Gadarenes which went into the swine? It is objected that it is inconsistent with the goodness of God to give such power to the devils. I answer, one might as well say that there are no tyrants in the world, no rebels, no atheistical propagandists; for their existence would be incompatible with the goodness of God.

How should short sighted creatures, like ourselves, presume to deny the possibility of the influence of a strange spirit upon our organs, on no other foundation than our incapability of comprehending it! We are not able to comprehend how our soul influences our body; and in truth of the objections made by infidels, none is more shallow and inane, than that taken from the want of our power of comprehension.

Has the philosophy of the present day received new light with regard to spiritual influences, and in what manner they affect the body? But it is objected, "Those times are ended." Whence have they this assurance? is there one single passage which tells us this? Until now the devil is not bruised, his power, though restrained, is not annihilated.

But some people say, that the light of civilization has banished the devil, and those possessions, from the world. I answer, that the light of civilization has not been able to banish rebellious men from the world; how then should this boasted civilization have banished evil spirits?

RHENIUS, A PRUSSIAN.

This is indeed a Missionary! I lived in the same room with him, and saw how one after another of his congregation came to consult him as a spiritual father. To give some slight notion of what he has done, I will only mention that at the end of June 1833, the congregation from among the heathen at Tinevelly, amounted to 10,694 souls, belonging to 238 villages, who were instructed in the word of God by 109 catechists. Those 10,694 souls are comprised in 3075 families, who have renounced idolatry, and are under Christian instruction and discipline. 2086 souls are baptized, the rest are candidates for baptism. During the last six months, ending with June, the increase in the congregation was 1388 souls. Nearly every month, a number of heathen families of a village, or a whole village, renouncing idolatry, ask for a Christian teacher. There are 111 schools, superintended by Rhenius, Schaffter, and Mueller, his worthy fellow labourers. In these schools are 2553 boys, and 146 girls, who receive christian instruction.

The seminary contains about 40 native youths, who are boarded and instructed in the mission premises, in theology and various sciences. Pious converts are always chosen for teachers.

Sarkoman, a convert, is Professor of mathematics. 50,000 tracts have been printed in the Tamul language.

John Dewa Saghaym, whose grandfather was converted from Hindooism by one of the Missionaries at Tranquebar, was ordained by Bishop Turner, and superintends now the native congregation.

Rhenius went to see a dying woman at Courtalem. The husband was brought by this affliction, and the instrumentality of Rhenius, to a saving knowledge of Christ. Oh that this might be the happy condition of every one who enters into the state of widowhood! Blessed are those who do not put off till the hour of death! Blessed those, who do not from afar only, as Balaam did, see the Lord, but who are made nigh by the blood of Christ; for He is our peace, who hath made us one. I have heard, when at Musulipatam, dying souls declare, "If I should be spared, I would serve the Lord all the days of my life." But there is a moment, after which we can no longer serve the Lord; a night cometh in which no man can work. Blessed are those who have the Lord always before them, in every object, on every occasion; who perceive him in the melodious voice of the nightingale, at the recollection of a beloved departed wife or brother in affection. In every event, in every object, He ought to be recognised; for the Lord reveals His wisdom, goodness and power at all seasons: in the nocturnal sky, with its innumerable suns, no less than in the glorious light of the day. The moon proclaims His grace, and the



sun His glory. On every page of His revelation, He has made known His goodness. His presence brings a presentiment of that bliss, which our departed friends enjoy, who dwell with Him. Our destined portion, the portion of all redeemed souls is, to be partakers of His glory, to sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus!

*Sept. 12.*—I lectured in the mission church of Mr. Rhenius. I preached upon the influence of the Spirit which proceeds from the Father and the Son; to whose influence our sanctification is principally ascribed, which consists in our being restored to our true primitive calling, even our calling to the love of God. Rom. v. 5.

*Sept. 20.*—I continued my lectures at the British station at Palamecottah.

*Sept. 21.*—I gave a lecture to the Hindoos. Rhenius and Shaffter interpreted sentence after sentence.

*Sept. 22.*—I preached in the church of Rhenius to the English station.

*Sept. 23.*—I lectured in the church on the second advent.

*Sept. 24.*—I set out for Nagercoil, after Rhenius had kindly introduced me to the son of Sir W. Congreve.

*Sept. 25.*—I arrived this morning at Nagercoil, where I stayed with the truly Christian, zealous, and liberal minded Missionaries Mault and Miller of the London Missionary Society, who have a congregation of 7000 converts from Hindooism. I preached to their congregation, and Mr. Mault interpreted; and in the evening I preached to the English officers.

*Sept. 28.*—I set out for Trevanderam, the capital of the Rajah of Trevancore, who is a mild and amiable young man, and a great favourite with the British Government. I was kindly invited by Colonel Cadogan, in whose house I gave a lecture, and set out for Quilon, 40 E. m. from Trevanderam. Here I lived with the Rev. Mr. Thompson, the Missionary of the London Missionary Society. I requested Colonel Cook to arrange every thing for my preaching and lectures, which I delivered in the mess-room.

*Oct. 1.*—I set out for Aleppie, where I lodged with Mr. and Mrs. Norton. I lectured in the evening to his family, and to Mr. Munro. Mr. Norton has baptized about forty-four from among the heathens. I saw in his house a Priest of the St. Thomas Christians, converted to the catholic religion.

*Oct. 2.*—I arrived at Kotyam, where I met with Mr. and Mrs. Ridsdale and Mr. Peet, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Ridsdale's station is Cochin, and Mr. Peet's at Kotyam, the chief seat of the Syrian Christians and of their Archbishop.

#### SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

When I was in Mesopotamia in the year 1824, I observed that the Syrians at Merdeen and upon Mount Tor, near to it, claimed the Syrians of India as an offset from their Church; and when in the year 1822, I arrived at Oormia and Salmast, I observed that the Chaldean Christians, commonly called the Nestorians, claim-

ed that honour. Archdeacon Robinson at Madras wrote lately a long and interesting dissertation about them. It appears that they were at some period Nestorians; but it is certain that they are now, like the Syrians at Merdeen, followers of Dioscorus, believing that the human nature of Christ was absorbed in the divine, so that Christ had one nature only, i. e. the divine.

*Oct. 3.*—I called with Mr. Ridsdale, a very active Missionary, on Mar Dionysius, the Metropolitan of the Syrians, a venerable old man. He informs me that they have seventy churches on the Malabar coast, and their nation amounts to 50,000. He related that 345 years after Christ, Toma, a Canaanite, came from Syria, and converted many to the Syrian religion. They speak of Antioch as the Jews do of Jerusalem, and they believe that the chief seat of the Syrian Christians is still an Antioch. In the year 1825, a Syrian Bishop was sent to them by the Patriarch of Merdeen; he was received with joy, but as he with great zeal attempted to take down the Hindoo idols, which they had in their churches, they exiled him with the aid of the British Resident.

Mr. Baillie, the Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, has translated the New Testament into Malayalem, and taught them the art of printing.

They, like the Syrians of Mesopotamia, have a great veneration for Ephrem the Syrian, and Jacob of Nisibin; they are well acquainted with the account of the conversion of Behenam and Senahereb, mentioned in the second volume of my journals. They abstain, like their brethren in Mesopotamia, from pork and every other meat prohibited in the Law of Moses. I have with me some documents, granted to me kindly by Mr. Barber, formerly the chief Collector on the Malabar coast, from which I understand Mr. Wrede believes, that the Christians of Malabar settled in that country during the violent persecutions of the Nestorians under Theodosius II.; and Theophilus Sigefridus Bayerius, in his epistle to La Croze, expresses his doubts, whether the St. Thomas mentioned, be St. Thomas the Apostle; the opinion that he was not the Apostle, seems rather to be confirmed by the Syrians of Kotyam. And Johannes Christophorus Amadutius brings them up to the date of 325, only differing twenty years from the account I received from the Metropolitane himself, from which period they received their Bishop from Mesopotamia. But Mr. Barber is in possession of Arabic manuscripts containing the history of the Mapila Mohammedans, in which it is asserted that they found Jews and Christians on their arrival at Malabar; and the Jews again say, that they found Christians in the country. I myself heard Mr. Barber's assertion confirmed by the Jews themselves, that Mar Toma (St. Thomas), arrived in India in the year 52 A. C. and themselves, the Jews, in the year 68. Beside this, St. Jerome mentions St. Thomas having gone to India, which corroborates the assertion of Mr. Barber. That the Syrian Church in India is essentially corrupted, there can be no doubt; but a judicious Missionary might make them what Buchanan in his researches imagined them to be,

for they are a mild and kind hearted people, and I hope that Mr. Baillie will do a great deal of good among them.

Mr. Ridsdale has under his care the natural daughter of an Englishman, as she otherwise would have been brought up in Mohammedan darkness.

#### DEPARTURE FROM KOTYAM FOR COCHIN.

*Oct. 4.*—I left Kotyam in company with Mr. Ridsdale. Immediately on landing from the boat, we met with the black Jews. As they did not speak Hebrew, Mr. Ridsdale was kind enough to interpret for me; but soon after, some of the white Jews assembled, and I spoke to them saying, “I am one of your brethren, a child of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and believe in Moses and the Prophets, who predicted that seed of Abraham, by whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, and who shall be the glory of the House of Israel; who came in the fulness of time, and was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, for the iniquities of his people; who was cut off, but not for himself; who was pierced for our iniquities; of whom it was said, ‘Awake sword against my shepherd, against the man who is my fellow.’” Twenty years are now passed since I have found Him to be my Saviour; and now for more than twelve years, I have preached Jesus of Nazareth, the son of David, as that Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world; and this is the sin which Israel sinneth until now, that they do not believe in Jesus of Nazareth, who was that Angel in the wilderness who accompanied the Children of Israel when they went out of Egypt, to whom the Lord God shall give the throne of his father David, and who shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever. He, Jesus Christ, shall be the Ruler in Israel; He, who came out of Bethlehem Ephrata. When I crossed in a boat from the Jew town over to the house of Mr. Ridsdale, Mr. Winkler, the Fiscal of Mr. Clementson, the principal Collector of Malabar, delivered to me a letter from Mr. Clementson, residing at Calicut, in which he mentioned, that he had given orders to his Fiscal at Cochin to have the Government house at Cochin in readiness for me, which was done accordingly. I lived however the first day of my arrival with Mr. Ridsdale, and a few days after went to the Government house.

*Oct. 7.*—I lectured to the Dutch and English inhabitants of Cochin. Immediately after, I went with Mr. Winkler and a Parsee to the Jew town, called in Malayalim, Yoodah Ward. I found there the black as well as the white Jews drunk in honour of their feast of Tabernacles; yet I was enabled to preach to a few of the white Jews. The Jews of Cochin and the surrounding places are subjects to the Rajah of Cochin. I preached likewise the Gospel to some Arabs I had met in the street, who came to Cochin from Hattamawt.

Mr. Ridsdale was kind enough to introduce me to the chief Jews of Cochin, Messrs. Sargon, and Sarfaty, who are also the most learned. I had a long discussion with Mr. Sargon, in the presence

of most of the white and black Jews; and in order that all of them might understand, I spoke every sentence in Hebrew and English, and Messrs. Ridsdale and Baron Albedhyl interpreted sentence after sentence. I produced Isaiah liii. Sargon desired me first to prove that it applies to Jesus, which I did from verse to verse; after this it was his turn; he indeed made a sorry figure; he first said that the person described in a suffering condition, was Moses, then Abraham, then Jeremiah, and then the Children of Israel; so that even Sarfaty admitted that Sargon was very unfortunate in his interpretation of this chapter.

#### HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF COCHIN.

Mr. Sarfaty was kind enough to copy for me in Hebrew the contents of their ancient copper-plates, and at the same time a copy of their privileges granted from the Malabar Kings, in the Malabar language. This I have not added here, as Mr Barber has already communicated it to the world; but only what Mr. Sarfaty has given me in Hebrew, and a Dutch document.

Since the destruction of the second temple, which happened in the year 3828 of the creation, and 3168 of Kalyok (the iron age) of the Hindoos, and 68 of the Christian era, about 10,000 men and women came into Malabar, and settled themselves down in four places, and these are their names: Cranganore, Phalor, Madin, Pulush. Many of them were in Cranganore above mentioned, and at Magodarna, Patnam, and Singili, which were under the government of Shera Firimalen.

In the year 4539 of the creation, that is 3479 of Kalyoog, and this is 379 of the Christian era, there was given to the Jews by the King of Shera Firimalen (whose remembrance may it be blessed! his name was Erircarnem), a law, expressing privileges, in a copper-plate, called Sipair, corresponding with their honour, and glory, and preservation of their customs. And in that time there was an honourable Prince Joseph Rabban, called likewise in the language of the country Siri Agada Mapala. And this glorious name was given to him by the King, whose remembrance may it be blessed. And this King divided all his countries among eight Kings, as an inheritance to them: and these are their names: Chenatu Gobertin Matanen, Benbele Natu Bo-Ten Shere Manedin, Kherla Natu Manen Bigaren, Balut Natu Ercharen Shaten, Ghid Tarhur Choda Ereve, Chilapatu Murcha Shaten, Wada Shere Chanen, Peripadpu, who was the King of Cochin, to whom he left his place as an inheritance.

Thus the Jews were settled on the shore of the sea, in the city of Cranganore, until the Portuguese came, and took possession of the place Cranganore; at that time came over them affliction, trouble, and disturbance; they left the place, and settled in the city of Cochin in the year 5326 of the creation, and 1566 A. C. And the King of Cochin gave them a place to erect houses and synagogues adjoining to the royal palace, called Boilus, in order that he might be their helper and protector; and thus they built



synagogues, and houses to dwell in, by means of four men: Samuel Castiel, David Belila, Ephraim Zala, and Joseph Levi, in the year 5328 of the creation, and 1567 of the Christian era; but still they suffered much by the Portuguese, so that they could not live in other places, according to their customs and rites; nor were they allowed to trade, for their subsistence, in other places.

Now the Portuguese becoming stronger, came and destroyed and robbed them of every thing; and there was great tribulation among the Jews, until the Dutch nation came to Cochin in the year 1662 A. C.; then the Jews became servants and assistants to the Dutch, and provided them with all things convenient for life. At that time some dispute took place between the King of Cochin and the Dutch, in which dispute the King of Cochin was killed by the Dutch, who then returned and settled in the town of Sailan; but after they were gone, the Portuguese came with the people of Malabar with fury, and murdered, plundered and burnt the market-place, and the synagogues of the Jews, on account of their having afforded protection to the Dutch. There was at that time a book found in the synagogue, called Sepher Yashar, which contained a journal from the day the Jews came into Malabar, till that day; and also other precious books, as canticles, poetry, and hymns; all were burnt, and the Jews were persecuted in divers ways, and afterwards threatened to be put to death. But at that time the Dutch returned to Cochin, and in a few days the fortress surrendered to the Commadore Petre de Beder, Admiral Van Goz, in the year 1663. And when the Jews heard that the fort had surrendered to the Dutch, they were rejoiced; and those who had fled to the villages, returned, and settled in their respective places, and built up the ruins thereof. And at that time a Prince of renown lived among them, Castiel by name,\* and by the grace of God, blessed be his name for ever, the Jews found grace and favour in the eyes of the Dutch, and the people of Malabar and the Kings and Princes, and were assisted, and lived in safety under the protection of the Dutch, in the Malabar at Cochin.

TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW ACCOUNT GIVEN BY MOSES SARFATI.

I might have given the translation from the original which I have before me, made by Mr. C. M. Whish, which Mr. Barber at Bombay kindly gave me; but I think, as the Jews perhaps have understood it better, I had rather give it from the Hebrew.

“In the peace of God: He is God that created the earth according to his will, and to Him I lift up my hands, who for more than a hundred thousand years is the Ruler in His dominion, yea for ever and ever. In this day, I sitting in Cranganore, in the thirty-sixth year of my kingdom, I have decreed with firmness and power, to give as an inheritance to Joseph Rabban, with firmness and power, five kinds of privileges, and these are:

\* A Jewish German book, which has the title שְׂאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל “Remnant of Israel,” has given a pretty exact account of the Jews of Cochin. The Jew Castiel is named Governor of Cochin.

1. Possession of elephants and horses.
2. Ordering to make straight the road.
3. To make proselytes from five nations.
4. The use of palanquins and umbrellas.
5. The use of vessels.

Above all, I have given seventy-two houses, and assured a relinquishment of all taxes for their houses and synagogues, over which there may have been a Prince, Head and Governor; and beside this decree, we have given a copper-plate, which shall be given to Joseph Rabban, to him, to his seed, and his children's children, to bridegroom and bride, all the time that his seed endureth, and as long as sun and moon endure." Then seven witnesses are signed.

THIS IS AN ACCOUNT OF SOME SPANISH JEWS, WHO CAME TO COCHIN FROM EUROPE.

In the year 1686, according to the Christians, in the time that Commodore Gilmer Vos Burg was Governor in the city of Cochin. four merchants came from Amsterdam, and these are their names: Moses Pereira di Pavia, Isaac Irgas, Isaac Muchat, and Abraham Bort of the denomination of the Sefardim, and they saw the places wherein the Jews lived, and they rejoiced, and they wished to live with them, and they wrote to Amsterdam about the Jews and about the scarcity of books. When the holy congregation of Amsterdam received this news, they sent to Cochin all kinds of books, and they printed every year books and sent them to Cochin. Therefore we follow the rites of the Sefardim.

ACCOUNTS OF THE WHITE AND BLACK JEWS.

In the land of Hindoostaun, the Malyalem metropolis Cochin, those are called white Jews, who came after the destruction of the second temple, from the Holy Land, and they have only one synagogue.

Those are called black Jews, who became Jews of their own accord in the land of Malabar at Cranganore, and those who were dispersed in the country, of black and half black colour. And for this reason the white Jews do not intermarry with them. And they have neither Priests nor Levites, nor families, nor relations in foreign countries, as they are merely to be found on the Malabar coast. They observe the Law, as we white Jews do; there is a little difference in their prayers and ceremony of marriage; but they differ entirely from the religion of the land.

The following are the places where they are still to be found, and where their Prince Castiel was formerly their Governor.

Cochin, they have synagogues	3	Families	150
Anjikmaal	2		100
Parur	1		100
Maden	1		10
Shenot	1		50
Mala	1		50
Tirtur	1		10

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Synagogues 10

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Families 470.

Thus far I have followed the authority of the manuscript delivered to me by Moses Sarfaty.

Several of the black Jews themselves assert, that their ancestors became Jews in the time that Haman fell into disgrace at the court of Ahasuerus, and they prove it by affirming, (what the white Jews deny,) that they were already there at the time the white Jews came to Hindoostaun; (see Esther viii. 17.) Their complexion is like that of the Hindoos; indeed, even at this time many of the Hindoos at Cochin become converts to Judaism.

They consider themselves as slaves to the white Jews, paying them a yearly tribute, and they are bound to pay them a small sum for the privilege of circumcising their children, and for being allowed in prayer time to wear the frontlets (Tefilin); they do not sit down in the presence of the white Jews, nor eat with them, as they acknowledge them as their masters; they are however richer, more industrious, and more moral than the white Jews. The white Jews are too proud to work, and live chiefly upon the jewels and valuables they have inherited from their ancestors. They are very immoral, and give not only their daughters, but frequently their wives for hire to the Europeans, Parsees and Mohammedans; and fathers frequently desert their reputed children, knowing that they are not really their own. They are beautiful in countenance. They behave towards the black Jews with the arrogance of masters.

• Mr. Ridsdale has two daughters of a white Jew in his house, who freely consigned them over to him to be baptized.

The white Jews have rendered, at different times, great services to the Dutch, as may be seen by the printed patent of the Dutch Government of Kolomba.

It certifies that a Mr. Ezechiel Rabbi, a member of the Jewish nation, a merchant employed by the trading company, by whom the certificate is given, being invested with the honourable office of Ambassador, under the Kings of Cochin, has proved himself to the honourable company, by his efficient, faithful, laborious, and good services under various circumstances, to be a man of integrity &c.

Dated *Kolomba*, 28th Nov., 1750.

The white as well as the black Jews of Cochin, are very much prejudiced against the Gospel of Christ; and are anxiously expecting the coming of the Messiah. I met amongst them a Polish Jew, who was a great drunkard, but a man of extraordinary talents in acquiring languages; he knows about eighteen languages.

It is extremely praiseworthy in Mr. Ridsdale, that he takes a very lively interest in the Jews of Cochin.

#### ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP.

There is a Roman Catholic Archbishop at Verapula near Cochin; he is from Italy, and superintends the Roman Catholics around Cochin, who are partly native converts, partly the descendants of the converts of the great Francis Xavier, and partly Portuguese.

## DEPARTURE FROM COCHIN.

*Oct. 14.*—Baron Aldebhyl, Mr. Ridsdale, and some others, accompanied me again to the white and black Jews. They had a lively recollection of the visit of Dr. Buchanan. I then set out for Calicut, where I stopt with Messieurs Clementson and Nelson, till the 16th, preaching and lecturing; and then set out for Connore, where I arrived on the same day; preached and lectured to the large military station of British officers. I stayed there with Captain Butcher till

*Oct. 20,* when I set out for Mangalore, where I was introduced by Mr. Morris to the British inhabitants. After I had delivered a lecture in their presence, I set out for Sedashegur, where I arrived

*Oct. 29.*—From thence I set out for Conaconum, where I was most hospitably received by the Portuguese Commandant (for this place belongs to the territory of Goa). The Priest of the place, Pater Antonius Cajetanus of Culinho, a Portuguese, agreeably disappointed me: I found in Father Antonius a liberal minded and kind-hearted Priest, and one not destitute of general knowledge. I made him a present of a Portuguese Bible; several other officers of the Portuguese army entered the room, with whom I conversed in French about the Gospel of Christ. The Priest, and every one of these, told me with delight that the inquisition was abolished at Goa.

*Oct. 31.*—I left Conaconum for Goa. There is immediate evidence of being in a Catholic country: the crosses are seen every where upon the high roads, and the bells of the churches are heard ringing in every village; and I frankly confess that I was much gratified to see the cross of Christ planted in the high roads, and christian chapels erected, instead of the idols of Hindoostan: I could not help exclaiming! "Behold the triumph of the cross over idolatry!" Recollecting at the same time that these churches were established by the great Francis Xavier, as a Priest of Goa had told me, not by a sword of steel, but by the word of God, by the power of persuasion.

I arrived at Morghaw, where the Curate, a black Portuguese, received me with the utmost cordiality. I conversed with them in Latin.

*November 1.*—I took a boat, and went on the river to Goa, and arrived at Panjim, which is properly the place of residence of the Vice Roy of Goa.

*Nov. 2.*—The Secretary of Government, Senhor Nunez, gave me a letter for the Provincial of the Augustinian Convent, which is situated in what is called New Goa. Old Goa is entirely in ruins.

I met with a very cordial reception by the Pater Provincial, as well as by all the rest. They gave me a very excellent room. They spoke with great regard of Claudius Buchanan, and his undaunted behaviour before the members of the Inquisition. I found in this convent about forty Monks, mostly born in Portugal. The



Provincial observed to me, it was right that the Church should watch over the integrity of her faith being held by her members; but the judicial proceedings ought to be public, and the accusers ought to be known, which had not been the case during the time of the inquisition. It was in the year 1810, at the suggestion of the British Government, that the inquisition was abolished.

I heard them pray in Latin reciting the beautiful Litany of St. Bernard: *Jesu dulcissime, osculo traditoris in manus impiorum traditus, et tanquam latro captus, et ligatus, et a discipulis derelictus. Miserere nobis Domine!*

*English.*—O sweet Jesus, betrayed with a kiss of the Traitor, and taken like a thief, and bound and forsaken by thy Disciples! Have mercy upon us, Oh Lord!

The strictest community of property is observed here; for this Superior, who is a well read man, said, Augustin well observes: "If in the republic of Plato such a community of property was established, merely for the sake of peace, how much more should it prevail in a house devoted to Christ, in order to obtain tranquillity of mind, and for the purpose of imitating the poverty of the Father of the poor! The expression of *mine* and *thine* will not be heard in heaven, where all things will be in common. We ought therefore to anticipate this heavenly life, by exercising and preparing ourselves beforehand; by rejecting the distinctions of property." I explained to them, at their request, my views respecting different doctrines of the Gospel. They remained up with me till one o'clock in the morning.

They receive all their books on divinity and on church and profane history from Lisbon. They shewed me their library, in which I found among other books the English Universal History, translated into French, all the writings of the Fathers, a Portuguese translation of the whole Bible, and Gil Blas in Spanish.

The following books are read in all the colleges of Goa. On *Moral Divinity*, they read the Casuistic Theology of *Charmes*, *Petrus* and *Collet*. On *Dogmatic Divinity*, the writings of *Alphonsius Maria Liguori*, and *de Pontas*. *History of the Church* by *Curio* and *Bossuet*. What is remarkable, the history of the *Reformation* by *Cobbet*, and "Andrews' Refutation of Fox's History of Martyrs," both books translated into Portuguese at Lisbon. They have two Royal Seminaries, which were established under *Joseph I.* King of Portugal, after the extinction of the Jesuits: the one is called *Choram*, at New Goa; and the other *Rachol*, in the Province of *Salcite*, half a day's journey from Goa.

The name of the Provincial is *Fre Juan a Santa Rosa*, of the family of *de Picciotto* in Portugal, which family is of Jewish origin; there is at *Aleppo* even now the Jewish family of *Picciotto*, originally from Portugal.

The most sensible man of the Convent is the Prior *Fre José de S. Agostino*. They told me, there had been Jews at Goa, till they were exiled by the inquisition. During my stay in the convent, I received a letter from His Excellency the Vice Roy of Goa, a

nephew to Don Pedro; and one from Monsieur Nunez, Secretary to Government; to which I add another letter from the same gentleman, (though it was written at a later date,) on account of its containing information about Goa.

LETTER OF THE VICE ROY (WRITTEN IN ENGLISH).

Sir,

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter of the 1st instant, accompanying a Portuguese translation, by Father Almeida, Missionary at Batavia, containing the Old and New Testament; and on knowing that you have gone safe through so many troubles, inconveniences, and dangers, I cannot forbear from congratulating you upon the success of your Mission to the Jews and Mohammedans, and God Almighty grant that it may be such as ought to be wished for by every good Christian.

You assure me that the said Old and New Testament, which contains the glorious news of the establishment of our Lord Jesus Christ's personal reign on earth in the city of Jerusalem, fourteen years hence, is presented for my edification; if however I cannot but request you to accept of my warmest acknowledgments for this token of your kindness to me, yet I beg to inform you, that being born of Roman Catholic Christians, my parents very carefully, and when of proper age, caused me to read very often the Bible, and to have it explained by enlightened and learned men, in those places, where it was requisite; such explanation I could not easily obtain through a Bible like that of Father Almeida, which, begging your pardon, I can positively assure you, is very badly translated; this however does not diminish my sincere feelings of gratitude towards you.

(Signed)

*Pangim, Nov. 6, 1833.*

I remain, yours affectionately,  
D. MANOEL DE PORTUGAL CASTRO.

LETTER OF THE SECRETARY OF GOVERNMENT OF GOA.

My dear Sir,

I shall be extremely flattered by paying you my personal regards, your apostolic toils and extraordinary exertions in the most holy of enterprises, being already known to me from the perusal of the newspaper in India.

As my situation does not allow me many hours of leisure to be at home, I beg to inform you, that I will be back from the Secretary's office at three o'clock P. M.; and after that period I shall be very happy to enjoy your presence.

I have the honour to be, my dear sir, yours sincerely,

(Signed)

C. S. R. NUNEZ.

*Pangim, Nov. 4, 1833.*

ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE SAME.

*Goa, 20th November, 1833.*

My dear sir,

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your

favour, under date of the 11th instant, whereby you desired me to answer the several questions therein contained. I wrote immediately to my friend Captain Pouget, to inform you, that being very busy, when I got your said letter, I could not instantly meet your wishes. However on a more attentive perusal of your letter, I beg to assure you, that by referring you to a book printed at Madras in 1831, with the title of "An Historical Sketch of Goa, by the late Rev. D. L. Cotineau de Kloguem," you will find all your questions completely answered, chiefly in what regards ecclesiastical subjects; as for the political, financial, and other statistical matters, I can positively tell you, it contains a great many mistakes.

The Inquisition was abolished in 1810 or 1811, at the suggestion of the English Government, as appears from the treaty with the King of Portugal of the 19th February, 1810.

Pangim, which is really now the new city of Goa, before the administration of the Viceroy was a common village, without good streets, roads or squares, as at present; all the recent many improvements are owing to the enlightened activity of the same Viceroy.

In Bombay I understand there are many copies of Cotineau's Historical Sketch to be had, and I think you will be extremely gratified in perusing it.

The very same day you left this, I received a letter from my friend the Honourable Captain Upton, Private Secretary to The Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay, recommending you; and I am very happy to have had it in my power to have anticipated his wishes in the very short, but pleasant intercourse with you here."

I have the honour to be, my dear sir,  
(Signed) CIPRIANO SILVERIO R. NUNEZ.

#### THE BODY OF FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS.

When the Jesuits left Goa, it was suspected that they had carried away with them the body of this great man; the tomb was opened, and it was still found there; the tomb then was sealed up, and since that time it has not been opened. I give the words of the Friars.

Fra Josephus a Doloribus, was Inquisitor in the time of Doctor Buchanan; he has now left Goa, and resides in Portugal. Every Priest at Goa disapproves of the inquisition. It is remarkable, that Antonio Gomez, of Jewish origin, was the last Grand Inquisitor at Goa. There was formerly a Jew at Malta, of the family of Gomez, who turned me out of the synagogue.

#### NOTICES OF GOA.

Alphonsus Albuquerki, Viceroy of Goa, in the time of King John X. of Portugal, built new Goa. Franciscus Xaverius came soon after him to Goa, when it was in the hands of the Spaniards, and the inquisition was established. The present Viceroy, who is related to Don Pedro and Don Miguel, is a liberal minded gen-

tleman, of a very amiable disposition, and has made of Pangim near Goa, which had formerly been an insignificant village, a very beautiful place. He is generally liked: he has established several schools, and is very kind to the numerous exiles who have been sent there by Don Miguel, and it was believed that the Viceroy himself would decide in favour of Don Pedro, as soon as the news of his success should reach Goa.\*

The clergy of Goa divide themselves into real Portuguese, and those born of Portuguese parents. The Archbishop must always be a real Portuguese. Besides the Archbishop there is a Vicarius Capitularis. The Archbishop lately died, and on account of the political affairs in Portugal, there was no concern taken about sending another.

The name of the present Vicarius Capitularis, is Paulus de Almeida Pereira da Costa, of Jewish origin.

*Nov. 3.*—I was up in the night time with the Provincial, Fre Juan a Santa Rosa, and the Prior, Fre Jose de S. Agostino, and read with them in the beautiful and heart elevating writings of St. Austin, and his pious exclamations taken from the Psalms of David: *Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati tuæ, et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in eternum!* “Save thy people, oh Lord, and bless thine inheritance, feed them also, and lift them up for ever!” I regret that formerly I lost much time in exposing errors, instead of shewing the light; by which I often only exasperated the minds of the opponents. I cannot forbear adding here the beautiful prayer of S. Bonaventura, which we read together in that solemn night.

#### ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE LATIN PRAYER OF ST. BONAVENTURA.

O sweetest Lord Jesus, pierce the inmost recesses of my soul with the delicious and most wholesome wounds of thy love; give unto me true, sincere, apostolic, and holy charity, that my soul may always be longing and melting in love to thee only, and in desire for thee, that it may long for thee and wish for thee in thy courts, desiring to be dissolved and be with thee. Grant that my soul may hunger after thee, the bread of angels, the refreshment of the souls of the saints, our daily substantial bread, having all sweetness and flavour, and all exquisiteness of savour. After thee let my heart always hunger, and feed upon thee whom the angels desire to behold, and let my soul be always full of the sweetness of thy savour; let it ever thirst after thee, the spring of life, the fountain of wisdom and knowledge, the source of eternal light, the stream of delight, the riches and fulness of the house of God; let it ever seek thee, be ever in quest of thee, find thee and attain to thee, meditate on thee, speak of thee, and do all things to thy praise and to the glory of thy name, with humility and discretion, with delight and cheerfulness, with alacrity and energy, with perseverance unto the end; and be thou alone always my hope, my whole trust, my de-

\* This supposition has since proved true.



light, my pleasure, my joy, my rest and repose, my sweetness, my food, the subject of my thoughts, my refuge, my hope, my wisdom, my portion, my possession, my treasure, in whom may my mind and my heart be always fixed, and firmly and unchangeably rooted. Amen.

## MONASTERIES AT GOA.

Five Franciscan convents.

One convent of the order of S. Cajetan.

Three convents of the order of S. Dominic.

Five nunneries of Sancta Mater Dei.

Convent of S. Thomas, (of the Dominicans.)

S. Bonaventura is the college of the Franciscan friars.

Convent of S. Johannes a Cruce.

The nunnery of Sancta Monaca.

The nunnery of Maria de Jesus.

Convent of S. Augustine, near which there is a nunnery of the same.

Congregatio Missionariorum, Vener. Cruc. M.

The monastery of Mount Carmel.

## VISIT TO THE VICEROY OF GOA.

Monsieur Nunez kindly urged me to visit His Excellency the Viceroy, before my departure, as he had expressed a wish to see me. I called accordingly; His Excellency was just at dinner with a great many people, amongst whom I observed his Chaplain. His Excellency desired me to dine with him; he appeared to be a most gentlemanly, kind hearted, and liberal minded personage; he at different times expressed his regret at my sudden departure from Goa. After dinner I took leave, and set out for Asenware on my way to Belgaum.

*Nov. 5.*—I was again upon British territory.

*Nov. 6.*—I arrived at the height called Ram-Gat, where I met with Mr. Birdwood, Lieutenant of the 3d regiment Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Hall, who told me that I was anxiously expected at Belgaum. I arrived there on

*Nov. 7,* and took up my abode at Captain Pouget's, where I met with the Missionaries Taylor and Beynon.

*Nov. 8.*—I lectured in the chapel of Mr. Taylor, where I mentioned several instances of scriptural descriptions of manners, as illustrated by the existing customs of the East, such as are the following.

## SCRIPTURAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

Gen. x. 25. "Peleg, for in his days was the earth divided." The Arabs and Toorkomauns often receive names from certain events, which took place in their time: thus the father of Ali in Yemen received the name of Almujaddal, from his father conquering the Imam of Sanaa: Mujaddal means conqueror.

Gen. xiii. 5—8. Strife from similar causes often takes place among the Arabs in Mesopotamia, and in the neighbourhood of

Damascus, and this is a reason which is frequently heard, for changing the situation of their encampments.

Gen. xiv. The Hebrew word Melekh (מֶלֶךְ), which is translated King, corresponds to the present Arabic title of Sheikh and Emeer.\* Wars similar to those described in this chapter from verse 2 to 17, and from exactly similar causes, occur to this day between the Arab Chiefs of Hebron, Jericho, Naplouse, and the Sheikh Aboo Goosh near Jerusalem; and between the different tribes at the sea of Akaba near Mount Sinai, and among the Arabs of Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Felix.

Gen. xiv. 18. "And Melchisedek brought forth bread and wine." I have seen in Toorkestaun, and around Cashmeer, Dervishes, who are generally visited by the conquering parties, and to whom the conquering Chief gives a portion of the spoil he has taken from the enemy; and the Dervish sets before his victorious guest, if a Musulman, bread and shirbet, a kind of lemonade. If the Dervish is a Hindoo, he brings wine instead of shirbet. It should also be observed, that holy Dervishes in Persia, Toorkestaun, and the valley of Cashmeer, are called Shah (King), as for instance the celebrated Dervish Bulbul Shah, and the holy man Mohammed Shah Nakhshbande, in the valley of Cashmeer. Ali is called in Toorkestaun, Shahe Merdan, the King of men. In such a manner as this, the meeting between Melchisedek and Abraham took place.

Gen. xviii. 1—8. This is exactly the manner in which an Arab Sheikh at this day receives his guests. I and my fellow travellers were so received by the Arabs near Karkuk in Mesopotamia; and as Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah (which tent was separate from that of Abraham) to give his orders, thus our host hastened to the tent of his wives, and ordered a sheep to be killed, and then ran unto the herd, as Abraham did, verse 7, and fetched it.

Gen. xviii. 2. "And he bowed himself with his face toward the ground." Thus the Arabs still bow down before great men.

Gen. xix. 2. "We will abide in the street all night." Strangers frequently say this in the East, when they are invited."

Gen. xxiv. 2—10. Thus Syrian Christians frequently send their servants with their sons in search of a wife, and the servant settles the affair.

Gen. xxiv. 11, 12. Thus throughout the East the camels always kneel down near a well, and one sees the women (Curdish or Arab girls) come out with their pitchers upon their shoulders to draw water. I saw this frequently in the valley of Cashmeer. I can in imagination hear an Arab slave exclaim, "Ya Allah," &c. (Oh God! which they always do after they have made their camels rest) and make vows and prayers for the success of his undertaking.

Gen. xxiv. 65. "Therefore she took a veil and covered herself." I frequently saw an Arab, Curd, or Eastern Christian travelling

\* The Chaldeans in the mountains of Coordistan, and the Coords at Julamerick, call their Chiefs Malek to this day.

with his wife and relations; the females were uncovered until they perceived at a distance some stranger coming.

Gen. xxvii. 41. "The days of mourning for my father are at hand, then will I slay my brother Jacob." It often happens in the East that the brothers wait for the death of their fathers, to avenge among themselves their private quarrels.

Gen. xxix. 10. "Rolled the stone from the well's mouth." I saw this doing when prisoner at Kuselli near Merdeen. See Vol. II. of my journals through Mesopotamia.

Gen. xli. 18. From the Nile, cows frequently came out and fed in meadows near it. Verse 42. "And arrayed him in vestures of fine linen," is exactly the description of the manner in which favourite slaves are now rewarded; they are clothed in robes of honour, called by the Persians *Khelaat*. Verse 45. "And Pharaoh called Joseph's name, Zaphnath-paaneah" (revealer of secrets). The King of Lucknow gave his Minister the name of "Rooshne Dawlat," the Light of the state. The Prime Minister of the King of Bokhara has the name of Goosh-Bekee, "Ear of the King."

Exodus iii. 5. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Neither Mohammedans, nor Hindoos, nor Christians enter their places of worship without having first put off their shoes. Compare with this the holy place mentioned pp. 217 of this volume.

Gen. xlvii. 7. "And Jacob blessed Pharaoh." This custom of an old man blessing a King or Governor, is especially observed in Toorkestaun. I was frequently asked by Jews, and Mohammedan Princes, to bless them, being considered as a Mullah, and having a venerable beard.

Gen. xlvii. 13—25. This same monopoly is now carried on by Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, at the advice of his Prime Minister Youssuf Boghos.

Ex. vii. 1. "I have made thee a god." This expression is used by Hindoos to their patrons.

Ex. vii. 11. There are magicians in Egypt even to this time.

Nov. 10.—I preached in the Dissenter chapel upon the future destiny of Israel, from *Ezekiel xxxvii. 21, 22*.

Nov. 12.—I preached again on the power of Christ crucified, in converting the sinner; and shewed how a man converted to Christ is constrained by the love of God, to endeavour to draw all men after Him. To an experienced Christian, who is enabled to give reason of the hope that is in him through Christ, and declare the power by which he has continued steadfast in the faith, it seems as if the darkness of infidelity must forthwith be dissipated by the shining clear light of truth; so Saint Paul, after addressing to King Agrippa, on enquiry respecting his belief of the truth declared by the Prophets, abruptly subjoins: "King Agrippa, believest thou the Prophets? I know that thou believest."

Nov. 14.—I left Belgaum, and arrived on

Nov. 17, at Sattarah, in the Marhatta country. I lectured in the mess-room of the officers, where I met with Capt. Lyons, the

brother of Capt. Lyons of H. M. S. Madagascar, who I well knew in the Mediterranean. I gave in my lectures the following

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES.

Leviticus xxi. 5. "Nor make any cuttings in their flesh." This is now done by Armenian Christians, and those pilgrims who go to Jerusalem, and by Hindoos also.

Numbers v. 2. Till this day the lepers at Jerusalem and Damascus are not permitted to dwell within the city.

Deut. xxviii. 41. The Jews in Georgia are the property of the Georgian Princes.

Deut. xxxii. 32. "For their vine is of the vine of Sodom." I saw at the Dead sea a fruit growing on a sort of bramble, in the form of a grape of a yellow colour, looking beautiful externally, but as soon as it is crushed, it is found evidently poisonous. This explains the meaning of the reproach made by Moses to the Jews; in their external appearance (having been taken as the chosen people of God, and His tokens being bestowed upon them) they were beautiful; but their interior (their moral) character was bad, like the fruit of Sodom.

Joshua v. 7. The Mandaye Yahya, the followers of John the Baptist, who are also called Sabeans, and who reside at Bussora, Gurno, Shoosh and Desbul, in Khusistan, relate that they originally descended from Haran, came to Egypt, went out from thence with the Children of Israel, who whilst they were in the desert, were again circumcised; this induced the Sabeans to separate from the Children of Israel, as they, the Mandaye Yahya had been always opposed to circumcision from the time of Abraham.

Joshua iv. 2—10. The Arabs who travel with their families, before they remove from any place, gather stones and put them together.

Joshua x. 10. "Makkedah" is the mother city of Maquedah in Spain, colonized by Jews.

Kadesh-barneah, the mother city of Cadiz in Spain. (See Marianna's history of Spain.)

Joshua xvii. 6. The Jews object to Jesus being the son of David, saying that Jesus was only the son of David from the mother's line, and a woman does not inherit the right of a man. This verse in Joshua refutes their objection; for the daughters of Zelophehad inherited the rights of sons. They were ladies in their own right.

1 Samuel i. 9, 10. Thus barren wives in the East to this day perform pilgrimages to holy places.

1 Samuel i. 11. 1. To this day Armenian women often make a vow, that in case they should be blessed with a son, he should become a monk. 2. No razor comes upon the head of a Dervish, which is a mark of a man who has dedicated his life to God.

1 Samuel x. 5. The external form of those holy men is still existing among the dancing Fakeers of Constantinople, and those in the valley of Cashmeer.

2 Samuel iii. 27. Ali Pasha of Yanina was killed in the same manner by one of the Pashas. See Dr. Walsh's travels.



In the same verse: "For the blood of Asahel his brother." As soon as a Toorkomaun kills the relation of another Toorkomaun, or the guest of one, he becomes "Khoondar," i. e. having blood upon him; and the other does not rest until he (the Khoondar) is killed for the blood of his murdered relation.

2 Kings ii. 13. "He took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him." The mantle of a Dervish is considered as sacred: the Dervish with whom I travelled from Balkh to Cabool, was very angry when an Affghaun by chance sat upon his mantle, and exclaimed, "Is this mark of the Prophet no longer esteemed?"

2 Kings iii. 11. It is the custom in the East that the servants pour water upon the hands of their masters in the morning, and as often as they are going to prayer, and after the meal; and one who is the servant of a holy man, is on this account highly esteemed.

2 Kings iv. 1. This is frequently done in the East: at Damascus, Bagdad, and Bokhara, the sons are taken as bondmen by the creditors of their father.

2 Kings viii. 4. Thus Kings of the East talk with the servants of others about the business of their masters; for instance, Goosh-Bekee, the Prime Minister of the King of Bokhara talked with my Jewish servant about my affairs.

2 Kings xi. 1. This horrid policy was carried on till lately at Constantinople, and is still practised at Bokhara.

2 Kings xiii. 21. I see therefore no reason to disbelieve the account of St. Augustin, with regard to the miracles performed by means of the dead bodies of Gervasius and Protasius.

1 Chron. ii. 16, 17. Here are the sons mentioned from the mother's line.

Verses 34, 35. Here are instances among the Jews sometimes of the father not being at all taken into consideration; as is the case in many places of the Himmalayah Mountains, and at many courts of the Rajahs, as at Trevancore, &c.

2 Chron. xxx. 15. "Asaph." The name of this person, of whom we have some psalms, is celebrated in Affghanistaun, and in the valley of Cashmeer; he is believed to have been one of David's Ministers.

Job i. 17. Similar invasions in Persia are made by the Chaldeans and Curds around Julamerik, and by the Circassians in Georgia, and by the Arabs around Bagdad.

#### DEPARTURE FROM SATTARAH, AND ARRIVAL AT POONAH.

Nov. 20.—I left Sattarah, and arrived on

Nov. 21, at Poonah, where I received a most cordial reception in the house of Colonel Wood. Majors Morse, Mountain, and the rest of the officers, kindly called on me, and Col. Wood introduced me to General Sir James Barnes, the Commander of the station, by whose permission I was allowed to lecture in the cantonment in the Freemasons' hall.

Here I made acquaintance with the highly talented, zealous, learned and successful Missionary of the Scotch Missionary So-

ciety, the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, who invited me to preach for him in his chapel.

*Nov. 22.*—I lectured again, upon the subject of decision and earnestness in preaching the Gospel.

#### BENEE ISRAEL.

*Nov. 23.*—I went with Mr. Stevenson among the few Benee Israel, Children of Israel, who are resident at Poonah: they are totally distinct from the rest of the Jews in Europe and Hindoostaun. Soon after the destruction of the first temple, they came in seven ships (thus they relate their own story) from Arabia into Hindoostaun, where they have since forgotten their Law, but continue to repeat in Hebrew certain prayers, which they have learnt from the other Jews; they also read the Pentateuch, but without understanding the language. They have synagogues; but they have not in them, like the rest of the Jews, the Sepher Torah, or the five books of Moses written upon parchment; for they say, "As we are soldiers, and do not keep the Law, the Sepher Torah may do us harm if it stands in the midst of us." They serve the English as volunteers in their armies, and are esteemed the best native soldiers. They possess great simplicity and honesty of character, are faithful to their wives, and by far more moral than the Jews of Cochin. But they keep hidden in their houses some Hindoo idols, and beside this a great many charms, which they wear like the Kemias of the Jews. I conversed with several of them about Jesus Christ our Lord; they produced objections against his divinity, which they have evidently heard from the other Jews. They know the Ten Commandments of our Lord by heart in the English tongue; and they begin now to send their children to the schools of the Scotch Missionaries.

#### NUMBER OF THE BENEE ISRAEL AT AND AROUND BOMBAY.

At Panwell, 800 families; Shwardhan, 5; Walwaticha, 10; Alibay Reodanda, 20; Karanja, 10; Rohè Asthanri, 20; Apta, 10; Rajpoore, 20; Poonah, 10; Bombay, 1000; in all 1905 families, or 9520 souls.

#### LETTER FROM THE REVEREND FRE JOSEPH A S. AUGUSTIN OF GOA.

After having had full and free discussion with the Augustinian friars at Goa, it was gratifying to observe that they were far from having any ill will against me, as will appear by the following letter.

Reverend Father Joseph Wolff,

I hope that your Reverence will have arrived safely and in health. Your absence caused me great sorrow, for your Reverence's company entertained me very much by your learning. I enclose herewith the paper which you asked of me, which, after it has been translated, you will please to return. And you may be assured that I will send you the other curious document. Any order that

you give me, I will execute freely. May Almighty God keep you for many years.

(Signed)

FRE JOSEPH of S. Augustin.

Goa, Nov. 3, 1833.

Nov. 25, 27, and 28.—I lectured before a very numerous congregation, and gave among other subjects the following

#### SCRIPTURAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

2 Sam. x. 4. This is the greatest insult to an oriental at this day; it frequently happens that a bigotted Mussulman cuts off the beard of a Christian or Jew. Even Lady Esther Stanhope punished one of her Janissaries in this manner.

Jeremiah li. 51. When lately an English gentleman entered the temple of Omar at Jerusalem, the Mohammedans enraged, exclaimed, "People of Mohammed, infidels have entered the Sanctuary!"

Isaiah lx. 6. Large caravans of camels laden with merchandise travel always towards large commercial towns in the East, as Cairo, Bagdad, and Damascus.

Matthew xxv. 6. When a wedding is celebrated in the East, suddenly at midnight, when all are asleep, a shout, or rather a scream is heard "the bridegroom!" which is the signal of the arrival of the bridegroom.

I then lectured on the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; took leave of my kind host, Colonel Wood, and set out for Bombay.

On my arrival at Panwell, I found the Missionary Mr. Nisbet, who went with me to the Beenee Israel, to whom I proclaimed the Gospel. Mr. Nisbet made my Hindoostanee interpreter. After I had left the Beenee Israel, I prepared to set out with Mr. Nisbet for Bombay. Mr. William E. Frere and Mr. Farish had kindly sent a boat for me to Panwell, which is only twenty miles distant from Bombay. The Beenee Israel at Poonah were by far more alive to the subject of religion than those of Panwell.

#### ARRIVAL AT BOMBAY.

Nov. 29.—I arrived at Bombay, and was most kindly received by my friend Mr. James Farish, and the Archdeacon Carr, who resided with Mr. Farish at the time.

Nov. 30.—I preached in the American chapel, where I met after service the worthy servants of Christ the Rev. Mr. Stone, American Missionary, the Rev. John Wilson, the champion against the Mohammedans, the Parsees, and Hindoos; my friend Robert Money, &c.

Dec. 1.—I went with the Archdeacon to Lord Clare, who received me very graciously, and permitted me to lecture in the Town hall.

Dec. 2.—I dined with Mr. Williams, and expounded the Scriptures of truth to the company who were met together.

Dec. 3.—I lectured in the Town hall to a congregation of about

800 people, composed of English, Parsees, Armenians, Mussulmans, Portuguese, and Hindoos.

*Dec. 4.*—I preached in the Scotch Mission chapel, at the request of Mr. Wilson.

*Dec. 5.*—I lectured again in the Town hall.

*Dec. 6.*—I lectured in the house of Mr. Farish, in the presence of Lord Clare, on whose account the party was assembled.

I deem it unnecessary to detail my conversations with the Mohammedans at Bombay, which I carried on *without interpreter* in the Persian tongue, in the presence of the following persons: Robert Money, Persian Secretary, who has published it in the Bombay Courier; the Rev. John Wilson; Ruben Aslan, the British Agent of Muscat; and before several Parsees; but I will just make some observations respecting the

#### JEW OF BOMBAY.

There are about fifty families, chiefly from Bussorah, Bagdad, Muscat, and other parts of Mesopotamia, and partly from Yemen. The richest Jew among them is Sooliman Yakoob, in whose house one Sabbath day all were assembled; the conversation was carried on in the most friendly manner, in the presence of Mr. Wathin; I spoke in Hebrew, chiefly with a Rabbi of Jerusalem, who had just arrived at Bombay for the purpose of collecting money from the Jews.

Ezechiel at Bombay made the following sharp observations: "The Christians try to make us believe that all prophecies respecting our redemption were fulfilled on our return from Babylon; how can this be? 1. Deut. xxiv. it is written, 'If any of thine be driven out unto the utmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee;' whilst we read in Ezra ii. that only 42,360 souls returned from Babylon? And secondly, Deut. xxx. 5, it is said, 'And he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers;' whilst during the time of the second temple we were in continual trouble. 3dly, in Ezech. xxxix. 28. 'But I have gathered them unto their own land, and *have left none of them any more there;*' many Jews remained even in Babylon after the captivity, and only two tribes returned. 4thly, in Isaiah lx. 10, it is said, 'And the sons of strangers shall build up thy walls;' and we know by Nehemiah iv. that the Jews themselves built up the walls at that time with great trouble."

These were the observations of Ezechiel at Bombay; but I, believing their restoration, easily sentenced him.

The Benee Israel are distinct from the other Jews of Bombay; I preached the Gospel to them from house to house, with the assistance of Mr. John Wilson, as they neither speak Hebrew nor Persian. There are about 1000 families. They have one synagogue. The name of their Chief is Daud Captan, a superstitious man.

#### HINDOO FAKEER.

Mr. Wilson and myself went to see a Fakeer, celebrated for his



penances; the nails of his hand were grown into and through his cheek; he was lying in the sun. I asked him, "How can one obtain the knowledge of God?" and his answer was, "Do not ask me questions, you may look at me, for I am a God."

*Dec. 7.*—I lectured again in the Town hall.

*Dec. 8.*—I was again invited by the American Missionaries to preach in their chapel. Took tea with the Reverend Mr. Ramsey, whose devotedness and zeal in the service of Christ was highly spoken of at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

*Dec. 9.*—I dined with the Rev. Mr. Jeffreys and Williams, and lectured in the Town hall. Lord Clare had invited me to dine with him on

*Dec. 10,* but unexpectedly Lieut. Webb, and the other officers of the H. E. I. S. Coote, with great kindness offered me a cabin on board this vessel.

*Dec. 11.*—Archdeacon Carr, Wilson, Mitchel, and Williams accompanied me on board the Honourable Company's sloop of war Coote. Never shall I forget the kindness I received at Bombay from all my English friends, as Archdeacon Carr, Mr. William Frere, &c.

Sir Collin Halket, the commander-in-chief at Bombay, declined seeing me, for he observed that all the German Jews he ever saw have been consummate rascals; he therefore supposes that I must be also a rascal. It shews at least His Excellency's liberality!

#### DEPARTURE FROM BOMBAY FOR MOCHA.

*Dec. 11.*—At one o'clock in the afternoon the Coote left Bombay; our fellow passengers were Col. Thomas, whom I had the pleasure of knowing at Cownpore, a very excellent and kind hearted gentleman, who together with Mr. Walter Elliot took brotherly care of me. These two, and the Lieutenants and Midshipmen treated me in the most cordial manner all the time I was on board; and Capt. Rose permitted me to preach every Sunday to the sailors.

*Dec. 23.*—We passed a large Arab town, called Sheikha, which contains a good many minarets.

#### ARRIVAL AT MACULLAH.

*Dec. 23.*—We anchored near Macullah on the Arabian coast; here is the land of Hatramawt, called in Gen. x. 26, Hasermaveth (חצרמות). This place is inhabited by Bedooeens from the interior of Hatramawt. The Bedooeens of Macullah are of the tribe of Yaafa, perfect savages.

*Dec. 24.*—I went on shore with my friend the Purser, and preached to the Bedooeens Christ, and Him crucified; they listened, but with barbarian indifference. I called on the Sheikh of the place, where I met with several Bedooeens of the interior of Hatramawt.

The chief cities in Hatramawt, or Ardh Alhegaaf, according to the information which Mr. Elliot and I collected, are: Defur, Sehout, Geshen, Sheher Meullah, Tereen, Jarbe, Ghoorfa.

The names of their tribes are: Ahl Kedar (קר אהלי Ps. 120: 5.

Cant. 1: 5). Nehaad, Yaafa, Ameer or Awameer, Ahl Tameem, Minaheel, Mohra, Garra, Seban, Al Jaaber.

This list may be of use to a Missionary, as it enables him to shew in those countries, that he is acquainted with their tribes, and the names of their learned men. Ask a Dervish, and he will tell you the names of all the learned men in their great cities. Thus the Jews know the names of their great men. Hatramawt is a country to which a Missionary should undertake a pilgrimage; but so long as a Missionary does not adopt entirely the life of a Dervish, trusting in God, sometimes starving, and sometimes being clothed by a King; sometimes going about in ragged clothes, sometimes in a robe of honour; he will not be able to serve effectively as a Missionary in these countries.

The learned men of Hatramawt are, Abd Ullah Ibn Loheir, and Abd Ullah Ibn Shaheb.

I returned to our ship, where I found a German sailor reading in his native tongue those beautiful verses, "A child indeed so lovely and so beautiful is born to us to-day," &c.

#### ARRIVAL AT MOCHA.

*Dec. 28.*—We anchored before Mocha, which is called Diklah (Genesis x. 27), by the Jews of Yemen. The Arabs had a few days before our arrival destroyed the town, after killing those Turks who, under a certain Chief called Turke Bilmas, had rebelled at Juddah against Mohammed Ali, and finally taken possession of Mocha. Bilmas had plundered the Jews' Quarter, and burnt their houses, and afterwards escaped on board the Company's Sloop of war Tigris. The reason why the Arabs had taken possession of the town, was this. Mohammed Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, anxious to have Turke Bilmas expelled from Mocha, gave 60,000 dollars to Ali Bn Mujaddal, to engage him to march by land to Mocha, whilst four ships of war were sent by Mohammed Ali himself to co-operate by sea; but Ali Bn Mujaddal, arriving sooner than the fleet, took the place by assault, and seized upon the fifth of the property for himself, distributing the rest among the Bedooeens. The Jews had left Mocha.

In Yemen there are Jews at the following places: At Mocha, 50 families. Tais 50. Gibleh 100. Aden 50. Shirah, a territory of 50 villages, 1000. Yerem, a Province containing 15 Arab villages, 350. Damar, called Hadoram by the Jews, 80. Kholan 200. Sanaa 1000. In all 2880 families, or 13,200 souls.

Sanaa is by the Jews called Uzal, Genesis x. 27. The Jews of Yemen believe that Shem, the son of Noah, resided there. The High Priest of Sanaa has the title of Ab Beth Din, i. e. Father of the Court of Law. The name of the present Ab Beth Din, as the Jews of Bombay told me, is Youssuf Elkara, and his assistants are, Maari Abraham Almanzali, and Maari Yahya Alabiat. Their President is Nassi Youssuf Alnakash; and their respectable men are, Abraham Ha-Levi, and Alsheikh Youssuf Alzaram.

Fifty years ago, the Jews at Sanaa pretended that they could

ascertain their genealogy, and were in possession of ancient documents; but a dispute having arisen among them, as to whom the superiority ought to belong, Shalom Ben Ahron, Kohen Araki, being at that time their great Nassi, and Rabbi Yahyah Salekh, their Ab Beth Din, both of them highly respected on account of their learning, came forward, and said, "Children of Israel, hear the words of your elders, and listen to the advice of your old men: through the jealousy, hatred and enmity among ourselves, and on account of our impiety, our ancestors lost all their privileges, and were driven away from the land of Israel, and we, their children, are sighing in captivity; why should we now quarrel among ourselves? have we not trouble and tribulations enough? We live in the midst of Ishmaelites; of what use is it that one should pretend to be of the tribe of Judah, and the other of the tribe of Reuben? it only excites hatred. Let us then root out at once the dispute, and cast into the fire our doubtful documents; for when the Lord shall be pleased to gather the scattered sheep of Israel, then every one of us will know of what tribe he is; Jehovah himself will reveal it to us, and Messiah the Son of David will reign among us, even at Jerusalem, and upon His holy hill of Zion. No disputes will then take place among us, but there will be peace, quiet and harmony." They had scarcely finished, when the whole congregation of Israel at Sanaa burnt the genealogies of their tribes, and the congregation exclaimed, "Peace, Peace for ever in Israel!"

As Captain Rose, the Commander of the Coote, was obliged to remain at Mocha, he sent on a cutter with despatches to the Captain of the surveying ship Benares, of which Cutter Lieutenant Wood had the command; Colonel Thomas, Mr. Elliot, the Midshipman Mr. Grieve, and myself went in it; the Cutter stopt near the Island of Camran in hopes of finding the Benares there, but we were disappointed. Camran is an Arabian island, the inhabitants of which had fled on account of the invasion of the Turks under Turke Bilmas. There was a Turkish ship of war there belonging to Mohammed Ali; I disposed among the Turkish officers of two Arabic Bibles, and one Persian Testament.

*January 4th, 1834.*—We continued our journey for Loheyah.

*Jan. 5.*—I went on shore with Lieutenant Wood to call on the English Agent, whose name is Saleh, of the Kahtan Tribe, called in Scripture children of Joktan, Genesis xxv. 26.

Mohammed Bn Naser, a descendant of Imam Hassan the son of Ali, is the local Governor of Loheyah. The city has several mosques. The inhabitants of this place listened with indifference to my preaching.

#### INFORMATION ABOUT LOHEYAH.

It was first governed by tribes of their own; then it fell into the hands of the Imam of Sanaa, who is a descendant of Hussein the son of Ali. Fifteen years ago, Loheyah was taken by the Wehabites; and Hamud, one of them, governed the town, until the Wehabites were driven out by Ibrahim Pasha. Hamud was killed,

and the place restored to the Imam of Sanaa. Ali Bn Mujaddal of the Sahra country, came a few months ago from his desert, and took possession of this place.

Returning to our Cutter with Lieut. Wood, and Mr. Grieve, we sat near the shore with the guard of the town; a respectable looking Mohammedan from Bussorah joined us, and soon after a Mohammedan gentleman from Mecca. The Mohammedan from Bussorah, with whom I had a previous conversation, told the gentleman of Mecca that I had studied the Coran. The Mohammedan from Mecca said to me, "It is not enough to understand it, its doctrines must be embraced." The Mohammedan from Bussorah, thinking I might be offended, gave him a hint; but I observed to him that I was always delighted to make confession of my religious belief, and to defend it by arguments. I then stated to him my belief in Christ, and at the same time the objections I found to believing the Coran; for instance, it says that our Bible and the Gospel had predicted Mohammed as a Prophet; but neither in the Old or the New Testament is there any such prediction. We then embarked on board the Cutter, as Lieut. Wood was obliged to sail.

*Jan. 12.*—Our Cutter struck upon coral reefs with very great violence; but we got off safely.

#### ARRIVAL AT MASSOWAH AT THE ABYSSINIAN COAST.

*Jan. 16.*—We arrived at Massowah in the evening, and found the Benares. The officers kindly invited us on board, but we remained in our Cutter till the next morning. This place belonged formerly, as well as Arkiko, which is near it, to an Arab, who had the title of Naib, (a nobleman); but this Naib is become a mere servant to Mohammed Ali of Egypt, who has a Governor there, called Kayem Mekaam.

*Jan. 17.*—Lieutenant Young, a very pleasant friendly gentleman, went with me to the Kayem Mekaam, where I met with a learned Mullah from Egypt. I asked about the practicability of going from hence by land to Egypt. They told me that from Massowah to Gondor, the Capital of the late Saba Gadees, the way was quite safe; but from thence, a four days' journey onwards, there is great danger as far as at Sanaar, which belongs to Mohammed Ali.

He said, a guard of thirty soldiers would be necessary to bring me safely through from Gondor. I then told them the object of my mission, to which they listened with apparent interest. I distributed among the few Abyssinian Christians who were there from the interior, some Abyssinian Psalters and Testaments. All Eastern people give to their sacred books a fine exterior. The Bible Society therefore does quite right in circulating the Bible and Testament in handsome bindings; they are received with the greater willingness, and read with the more eagerness. I have heard sometimes objection made to the spending much money upon the binding, but this generally came from some disappointed candidate for employment under some Bible Society.



I met in the house of the Governor a Mussulman who was well acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Gobat, of whom he spoke with high regard. He told me the names of the different sects in Abyssinia; but as they are mentioned in Gobat's account of Abyssinia, I forbear enumerating them here. I also met at Massowah with the two Englishmen Coffin and Tesseyman.

The Abyssinians took great offence at the assertion of an European Christian, saying that a person may commit a crime, and then from fear deny the crime, and still be a Christian; that this was told them by an European Christian, is a fact. For the very same christian was not ashamed to make the same assertion in my presence.

I learn that the Booda (blacksmiths) believe, that people are frequently changed into animals. I also learnt that there are four Greeks at Atwa.

There is now war between Oubea (who belongs to Seeman, North of Tigre) and Saba Gadees.

Jan. 19.—I preached and lectured with the obliging permission of Captain Moeresby on board the Benares.

Jan. 20.—I called on the Naib at Arkiko. In the house of Mr. Coffin, who resides there, I met with an Abyssinian Christian, the servant of the Naib. He informed me that the Jews of Abyssinia, called Falasha, reside in the following places of Abyssinia: Walkeik, five days distant from Adwa. Adyaboo, three days distant from Adwa. Dankas, where they are under Oubia the Chief, Simean. He also tells me that the Chief of the Jews has the title of Keila.

#### QUEEN OF SHEBA.

The same Abyssinian Christian informs me that the name of the Queen of Sheba in Abyssinia is Nugust-Asiab. They say she was born at Aksom, and her father's name was Agaws; she had legs like those of an ass, and went to Jerusalem to King Solomon, who cured the deformity. She had a son by King Solomon, born after her return, who was called Menelik; he became King of Abyssinia. Menelik begat Gabra Maskal, who reigned over Abyssinia, and after him reigned his son Amdassian; then Sultan Sahra; then Sultan Yakoob, and after him Sultan Daood.

Salama of Dalak, an island near Abyssinia, came to Abyssinia, and baptized the Abyssinians at Aksom.

Mr. Riddel and Mr. Grieve came for me; I was just at the moment preaching the Gospel of Christ to crowds of Arabs.\*

I called again, with Lieut. Young, on the Governor of Massowah, who gave me three letters of introduction: two for Confudah, and one for Jiddah. He informs me that the name of the present Sheereef at Mecca, who is now completely under the command of Mohammed Ali, is Mohammed Ibn Awn. A Russian lately entered

\* There is at Gondar the child of an European with an Abyssinian woman, who ought to be taken care of.

Mecca, but was recognised and transported to Cairo. The Mohammedans are now even at Mecca afraid of putting a Christian to death, for entering their sanctuary. The same Governor gravely related to me the following marvel as a fact. At the time when the plague raged at Mecca, a woman died of it; the body was washed and put into the coffin: after being dead two days, she suddenly rose, and said, "This plague is on account of our sins; repent, and cease from tyranny!"

The Shereef of Mecca proclaimed this marvel over all the country.

*Jan. 20.*—We took leave of the good and kind hearted officers and midshipmen in the Benares, and sailed for Jiddah.

*Feb. 1.*—We arrived at Confoodah, on the Arabian coast. I called on the Chief of the custom house, whose name is Haje Hussein Aga of Belgrad; he informed me that the Arabs here are of the tribe of Kahtan, i. e. Joktan and Hadram, i. e. of Hadoram, the present Damar in Yemen, and tribe Saat.

*Feb. 2.*—We continued our voyage, when our Cutter struck upon shoals; I was again very much alarmed.

#### ARRIVAL AT JIDDAH NEAR MECCA.

*Feb. 9.*—Arriving here, my friends Lieut. Webb and Sivan, Mr. Harrison, the Purser, and Doctor Campbell came immediately on board our Cutter to welcome us; we learnt by them the news, we had already heard at Massowah, confirmed, that the H. C. Sloop of war Nautilus had been wrecked off Suakim. I slept that night on board the Coote, which had arrived to assist the officers of the Nautilus. I made here the acquaintance of the excellent and pious Dr. David Campbell, who went about with me when I preached to the Arabs. He is one of those few, who are not ashamed of the cross of Christ.

*Feb. 10.*—I went on shore, and was hospitably received by Youssuf Yakoob, the English Agent of this place, an Armenian Catholic.

#### ST. SIMONIANS AT JIDDAH.

They are in the service of the Pasha. In order to form an idea of these people, as well as of all those Italians who are in the service of the Viceroy of Egypt, one need only read the description of the army of David in 1 Samuel xxii. 2.

Regarding these Italians who gather round the Viceroy of Egypt, it may be added: every one who has forfeited his life on account of forgery or of rebellious enterprises; every one who is a blasphemer; every whoremonger; every scoffer, gathers himself unto Mohammed Ali.

I invited them the first day to attend an Italian sermon; but I found they were such an abandoned set of infidels, that the text came more forcibly than ever in my mind, not to cast pearls before swine. Some of those wretches were banished from the Roman territory by a decree of the Pope. I saw a tract written by a St.

Simonian, addressed to the Jewish ladies, in which he addresses them in the following manner: "Read the Prophecies of Solomon (who never wrote Prophecies), and your book of the Prophet Baruch, in the Hebrew tongue" (which does not exist in Hebrew). I need not say more for the purpose of exposing the ignorance and absurdity of those villains; I only will add that he praises the Jewish ladies for refusing to recognise a male Messiah. I wrote a letter to one of them, exhorting them to repent. He wrote me the following answer.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM TAMISIER, APOSTLE OF ST. SIMON, TO MR. WOLFF, MISSIONARY OF JESUS CHRIST.

*Jiddah*, 14 H. 1249.

My dear Sir,

I beg you to excuse me for being so late in answering the two letters, with which you honoured me some days ago; the various occupations I have had since are the only causes of this delay, and I beg you not to think that there was any other motive for it.

Allow me to express the deep regret I feel on account of having been deprived of the pleasure of seeing you at Behar, where, as you induced me to expect, I thought to have met you; I could then have announced to you more fully the chief principles of the new revelation which our Father has given to the world. But as I have been deprived of this pleasure, I will endeavour to do it now by writing.

In answer to your first letter, I must say, that if it were my intention to make a long critique on the Christian religion, I would attack the texts brought forward by St. Paul, St. Augustin, St. Thomas, and other renowned Fathers of the Church, and I would not amuse myself with refuting the writings of a paltry village priest, on the miserable complaints which are given out publicly in every town in Europe. The book which you mention may be placed on the same level, it is not at all orthodox.\*

Now having informed you of the opinion we entertain of the book you speak of, I hope you will not return again to try your strength against an opponent whom a child might conquer, and that you will restrain yourself, when attacking the living principles on which our faith is founded, and of which I will give you a relation. "The golden age, which a blind tradition, till now, has placed in times past, is yet to come; all social institutions should have for their objects the amelioration of the most numerous and the poorest classes of people, in a moral, intellectual and physical point of view; every one ought to be classed according to his capacity, and recompensed according to his works. All privileges obtained by birth are without exception to be abolished, &c."

I cannot blame you for not having effectually attacked the important principles which I am speaking of, for you were ignorant of them; but I think I might blame you for the haste with which

\* Mons. Tamisier himself was the circulator of the book. Wolff.

you judge regarding myself and the religion of which I am an Apostle: you tell me I ought to repent of my sins, and you know nothing of me, nor of my life and conversation; you exhort me to abandon my religion, and you are ignorant of our fundamental doctrines.

When you forsook Judaism and became a Roman Catholic, you advanced one step; in leaving afterwards that Church and embracing the Protestant religion, you again made progress: the power which you have shewn of leaving an obsolete religion for a new one, gives me hope that you will one day be a follower of that religion which I am sent to proclaim over the world.

I congratulate you upon your having preached the Gospel at Calcutta, at Cashmeer, and other countries where it is now progressive; and I even advise you to go back to those countries; for in Europe religion is now obsolete, and it will be impossible for you to renew it. I can assure you that you would have the mortification of seeing the words, with which your faith inspires you, despised and carried away by the winds like dead leaves, than which nothing can be more painful to an apostolic preacher. I hope one day to visit those countries which you have seen, and I thank you in the name of the LIVING GOD, for having prepared the way for me.

I feel and understand perfectly your fear of compromising your faith by public discussion in a language not your own, and which your fellow-believers do not understand. Being experienced in public discussion, I know all the advantages which a disputant has over an antagonist, who must express himself in a language with which he is not familiar; I have too much delicacy ever to wish to take this advantage. I hope then the time will come when this difficulty with regard to languages will vanish: a difficulty which the Christian religion could not overcome; but it will be surmounted by us, at the time when a universal association of all nations will take place; this we announce and prepare with all the means in our power.

I shall now answer the objections mentioned in your second letter; I commence with the second objection, having already answered the first.

2nd Question; *Answer.* Is it necessary for him who writes the biography of a man, to prove that the man was a moral character, when all the actions he reports of him speak in his favour, and are the best evidence that can be adduced in favour of his morality? \* You know that it is said, "You shall know them by their fruits." It is not necessary that I should call to your remembrance the life of St. Simon; you know his principles. If, however, you have observed that any of his actions appear immoral, I beg you to mention it to me, and it will be very easy to prove to you, that all the actions of his life are replete with the highest spirit of loyalty, wisdom and dignity.

\* He means St. Simon.



3d Question; *Answer*. At the time when the letter was written to the *Chambre des députés*, there were two well known parties in Europe, but particularly at Paris; the one party was the “*juste milieu*,” the other the “*mouvement*.” This was a few months after the July revolution. The first party wished to cast up a barrier against the ideas of liberty, which threatened to immerge the whole of Europe; the second, on the contrary, being democratical, favoured these ideas. Both had chosen a wrong course, because they would attempt to gain their point by means of force: the existence of the first however justifies that of the second. This is the way in which we explain the necessity of their existence. It was not our duty to accuse them, particularly as all voices were raised against them. This would have been wrong on our part, and our duty was to try and lead them to entertain more peaceable sentiments; this has always been our endeavour in our preaching, as well as in our books and journals.

4th Question; *Answer*. We consider the entire human race as a being which developes itself successively in the bosom of God, and according to the laws of its progress. Humanity has therefore, like a man, its periods of infancy, adolescence, and old age. God alone educates humanity, and puts at times a power in their hands according to their strength. There are epochs when those principles are obsolete upon which humanity hitherto had been supported: it feels itself then, as it were, uneasy and worn down; it agitates itself; it rejects with disdain the rags which served for his covering, yet not knowing how to obtain another.

There is a time when God chooses a man from amongst his children, whom he inspires, and to whom he gives power to conduct the human race in a new way. Such men, in times past, were *Moses*, *Numa*, *Jesus Christ*, and *Mohammed*; and now, in our times, our FATHER. Jesus is therefore to be considered as one of those men who were beloved of God. That Jesus himself is not God, of this I will give you a mathematical demonstration, which ought to suffice. God possessing infinite love, infinite wisdom, cannot therefore be circumscribed by things limited, as the finite love, finite wisdom, and finite power of one of his children; to believe otherwise would be blasphemy against God, a blasphemy which I never will utter.

5th Question; *Answer*. We protest against the law of inheritance, because we do not desire the continuance of exclusive privileges on earth; and this law sanctions a monstrous privilege in favour of a certain class of children, who are rich as soon as they are born, without having in any manner merited distinction, and the children of the poor are condemned to remain in misery and wretchedness all their lives, who might otherwise have been employed to the welfare of their fellow creatures. We desire that all children, without exception, should receive a moral, intellectual, and physical education, according to the vocation which God has given them. We desire that society should grant to every one of them some function proportionate to their capacity, either

in the fine arts, or the study of sciences, or in trade; and that they should receive the means requisite for exercising their respective functions. As to what regards the appointments in these functions, I will content myself with asking you, in what way are appointments now given, which are not hereditary; such as those of the clergy, of the army, the navy, the magistracy, the schools, &c. &c. If you can answer these questions satisfactorily, you can answer your own objections.

6th Question; *Answer.* We consider him to be a moral man, whose sentiments, thoughts, and actions, are devoted to the moral, intellectual, and physical progressive amelioration of the most numerous and poorest classes of men. I will tell you further, that we do not believe in a state of reprobation, nor in eternal punishment; we do not divide the world into two classes: the one for God, the other for the evil spirit. Has God a rival in the plenitude of his glory? The time is come when the whole world is to sing the praises of the Lord. We do not say, as the Christians do, that there are many called, but few chosen; but we say, all are called, and all shall successively be chosen.

These are, Sir, such answers as I am able to make to your questions; I shall feel very happy if they should prove satisfactory.

Your devoted servant,

(Signed)

TAMISIER,

Apostle of the new faith.

The harm those wretches do to the cause of Christ is incalculable. "We are rejoiced," said the Turkish Governor of Jiddah to me, "to observe that you believe in a God; those French soldiers whom we have here, deny the existence of a God. One fellow said to me: 'Our belly and women are our God.'"

*Feb. 11.*—Youssuf Yakoob, the pious Doctor David Campbell of the Nautilus, and I, called on His Excellency Sooleman Effendi, Governor of Jiddah; I spoke to him about the object of my mission. He assured me that there were Rechabites (called by the Arabs Yehood Khaibr) beyond Medinah, in the neighbourhood of the ruins of Khaibr. A Mussulman from Bagdad, who has lived at Jiddah for these 20 years, attests this as having himself knowledge that such a people exists there.

In this city, it is said, the mother of the human race is buried, outside the gate, called the Gate of Mecca, and her grave is shewn. Jiddah is an Arabic word, signifying *grandmother*, namely Eve.

*Feb. 12.*—I went first with Dr. D. Campbell to the Mecca gate, and took my Bible with me, and explained to the people at the gate the words of Christ in Matt. v. then we sat down near a coffee-house; and as I continued my explanations, one of the Arabs told me, "If you go on as you did in the year of the Hegira 1244 or 45 in Egypt, we shall break your neck." I met there a Bedoueen from Yamboo. The following conversation took place between him and myself.

*Myself.* Could I go by land to Yamboo?

*Bedooeen*. They would cut your head in pieces.

*M.* Why?

*B.* The Arabs are wild beasts.

He too knew the Rechabites.

A beggar entered the coffee-house trembling; his hair and beard were completely grey; he had a timbrel in his hand, and sang whilst he was dancing.

"The world is bad,  
The world is bad;  
Repent, for you shall be laid in the grave,  
Do good, and God will do you good."

I spoke to him about the coming of our Lord.

*Feb.* 16—I performed divine service on board the Coote.

#### THREE PILGRIMS FROM YURKAND.

I learnt to-day that the three pilgrims from Yurkand in Chinese Tartary, who went with me from Cashmeer to Delhi, had safely arrived at Mecca, and that they shewed about at Mecca the Persian New Testament which I had given them, relating the kindness they had received from me on their way from Cashmeer to Shahe Jehaan Abad, i. e. Delhi; they remembered it at the tomb of the Prophet, and the Mussulmans observed: "The Christians in our days have often more pity and compassion than the followers of Islam. Allah Kibir!" (God is great.)

#### PILGRIMS AT MECCA.

Seventy-two thousand pilgrims are said to come to Mecca every year; if there are less, it is believed that the number is filled by angels. Every pilgrim casts 7 little stones at the Devil, and 16 at the Devil's two children.

*Feb.* 19.—I went again with Dr. Campbell to the Mecca gate, and preached to the Mussulmans.

#### BORHAS.

I met at Jiddah with several of the Borhas from Soorat. They told me they were Mussulmans, but that one of their ancestors was Moses. They are believed to be of Jewish descent; but I doubt their being actually Jews at present, though their physiognomy is certainly Jewish. Tayib Zein Uddeen is the most learned man of the Borhas at Soorat. They have a college at Soorat. My fellow traveller and friend, Walter Elliott, Esq., informs me, that in the Oklaseer Pergunnah there exists a race of Borhas entirely devoted to agriculture, and differing considerably from the trading Borhas, with whom they do not even intermarry.

Those Borhas whom I met with at Jiddah were very sensible men, and were pleased to hear me speak with them about Christ.

#### MOHAMMED ALI'S EXPEDITION.

A great part of Mohammed Ali's forces was at Jiddah, destined to be sent to the Aseeree country against Ali Bn Mujuddal, who without any commission had plundered Mocha. After this great

man has subdued the Aseeree country, he intends to march towards Sanaa. The capital of Ali Bn Mujaddal is called Abu Greesh.

#### THE CITY OF JIDDAH.

One can at once see that this city is the great passage to Mecca. It contains about 60,000 inhabitants, and here one meets with strangers from every quarter. The Persians, the Tartars, the Mussulmans from Hindoostan, the Africans from Sodan and Timboktoo, the Mughrebe from the West, and the Turks from Constantinople are all distinguishable. And this city is daily visited by the Bedooeens of Yamboo, with all of whom the Abyssinians coming from Gondor (on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem), and the British officers and sailors of the Indian navy, form a striking contrast. The people of Jiddah are no longer so fanatical as they were in times past, so that a faithful Missionary might here have an extensive field for labour.

#### CONTEMPLATION.

I conversed with my friend Dr. D. Campbell about the bad tendency of the writings of Dr. Channing, and he fully concurred with my views respecting them. Every attempt to bring the mysteries of our redemption within the limits of human understanding, lowers the standard of Christianity, and destroys the harmony of the whole, considered as a demonstration of the infinite wisdom, glory, and goodness of the ineffable Jehovah, made known to us as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, and as so revealed, to be for ever glorified by angels and the redeemed among men. By faith, through which alone we can attain to the evidence of things not seen, we firmly believe what the Scriptures declare of our Lord, that He, the mighty God, humbling himself, emptied of his glory, came upon earth; and being found in fashion as a man, He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, that he might become to us the Prince of peace, and exalt us to everlasting life. What a soul-ennobling view is this! How does it tend to bring every faculty of the mind, and every affection of the heart to the obedience of Christ! Shall we, yielding to the suggestions of proud unregenerate reason, cast it away as matters too high for us, to which we cannot attain? God forbid! Shall we not rather cry out and spare not, when this our high calling in Christ Jesus is questioned? though the voice of power and persuasion, were it that of an angel, and not merely that of man, be raised up against us? Thus we see the Apostle Paul defying the spirit of his age by declaring, that while the Jews required a sign, and the Greeks sought after wisdom, he was determined to preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness. I have met many learned men, who from being infidels became afterwards believers in Christ Jesus; but not one of those who were so converted, ascribed their conversion to the result of their own researches, but acknowledged it as an effect of the grace of God, which made them sensible of their ignorance. Would to



God, that this might soon be the case with Dr. Channing, with the Neologists in Germany, and with infidels in France and England!

*Feb. 23.*—The steamer *Hugh Lindsay*, commanded by Captain Wilson, arrived at Jiddah. I preached that day on board the *Coote*.

*Feb. 25.*—I embarked on board the *Hugh Lindsay* for Cosseir and Suez. Capt. Wilson, as well as every one of the passengers, overwhelmed me with kindness; they were all interesting characters, and I must indulge myself in mentioning the name of every one of them. To my greatest surprise, I met with the brother of Lieut. Burnes. *Dr. James Burnes*, who has made a journey to the Princes of the Scind country, and published an account of it. He was very obliging and attentive to me. *Major Groundwater*, who was much admired by the Turks as a fine looking soldier. *Capt. Jackson*, a straight forward gentleman, who always entertained us with his unexhaustible good humour. *Capt. Pearson*, a clever gentleman from Ceylon. *Lieut. Macdonald*. *Mr. Finlay*, a kind hearted, keen sighted gentleman. *The Hon. Mr. Hugh Lindsay* from China, a well informed gentleman. *Mr. Green*, a traveller. *Capt. Spencer*. *Capt. Pottinger*, brother to the Col. Pottinger, well known by his interesting travels in Belouchistan. *Col. Hardy*. *Mr. Pringle*. My old fellow passenger *Mr. Walter Elliott*, distinguished for his learning in many languages.

Let this mention of their names stand as a small acknowledgment to them from the Missionary Wolff, for whose eccentricities and weakness they shewed the kindest indulgence.

*March 2.*—We reached Cosseir in the evening. I expounded the Scriptures in the evening, at the request of the passengers; some of them landed, and went to Thebes.

*March 4.*—We arrived at Suez; Capt. Wilson and the rest of the passengers made an excursion to Cairo, and I accompanied them; we pitched our tent in three different places.

*March 8.*—Arrived at Cairo, where I met my friends, Messrs. Geo. Gliddon and Dr. Dussap.

*March 9.*—I set out for Alexandria. Doctor Dussap went with me to Bulack, where I met with Omar Effendi of Constantinople, to whom, when at Alexandria, four years before, I had given an Arabic Bible; he recollected me immediately, and thanked me for that present, which has become his daily reading.

*March 15.*—I arrived at Alexandria, three years and one month after my departure from that place for Adalyah. I was received with open arms by my old friend Mr. Gliddon, who I had found again, raised to the dignity of American Consul. We talked over the goodness of our Lord in bringing me safely back to this place, after such a dangerous expedition, in which I had met with so many adventures.

*March 16.*—I preached to the English in the English chapel.

*March 18.*—I lectured again in the chapel.

RESULTS OF MY EXPEDITION TO BOKHARA, BALKH, CABOOL, CASHMEER,  
AND HINDOOSTAUN.

In taking a retrospective view of my expedition, the following seem to me to be the results.

1. To have obtained, and given to the world, a more clear insight into the state of the Jews, from Constantinople to the utmost bounds of Turkey, Persia, Khorossaun, and into that of all the Jews in Tartary, than has hitherto been given.

2. I have given an insight into the state of the Christian Churches from Alexandria to Anatolia, Armenia, and Persia.

3. Into the state of Mohammedanism, as far as the utmost boundaries of Turkey, Persia, and even to Chinese Tartary.

4. I have given an idea of the creed of the Ali Ullahi in Persia, such as never was given before.

5. By having circulated the Word of God at Burjund, bordering on Beloojistan; and having conversed openly with the Mohammedans in their most bigotted town, even in Meshed, as it was testified by Mirza Baba, the chief physician of Abbas Mirza, I have solved the problem whether it may be possible for a Missionary to preach the Gospel in barbarian Mohammedan countries.

6. And as I have shewn to the Churches on my former mission, that Missionaries may be stationed not only in the Mediterranean, but likewise at Jerusalem, in Persia and Coordistan; they will now see that missions may be established likewise at Meshed, Bokhara, Cabool, Cashmeer, and Lahore.

7. The proclamations which I issued at Meshed and at Lahore, calling on the people to turn to Christ, and which I fixed up in the streets, the latter of which was sent officially to the Governor Gen. of India, may encourage a Missionary in working boldly in Christ's vineyard.

8. The liberality of the Jews of Teheran has been ascertained.

9. The most intellectual Jews of Meshed, who never gave attention to the Gospel before, have now been induced to study it, and to enquire into the truth of it.

10. Mullah Yakoob at Sarakhs, has avowed his belief in his Lord Jesus Christ.

11. The pious Joseph of Talkhetoon in the kingdom of Khiva, is enquiring into the truth of the Gospel with prayer, in the company of all his disciples.

12. Mullah Pinehas Ben Simha, Mullah Meshiah Serkar, and several others at Bokhara, have declared their belief in the Lord Jesus Christ.

13. A great number of other Jews of Bokhara and Balkh have anxiously desired to have New Testaments in the Hebrew tongue.

14. The Jews of Bokhara, Samarcand, Meshed, Balkh and Cabool were astonished to see one who was himself a Jew, going about to preach Jesus Christ as the true Messiah, and thus their attention has been strongly attracted to the truth.

15. The Mohammedans in Khorossaun and Toorkestaun, and

the Seiks in the Punjaub, were thus convinced that there are Europeans who fear God, which before they could not be persuaded of. "How is it (said Runjeet Singh to me) that you go about for the sake of religion? for the Franks have no religion." And when I related this to a great statesman in India, he observed, "This is the prevalent opinion of the natives here."

16. The Toorkomauns at Sarakhs were struck with amazement at seeing a man go about preaching the Gospel of Christ, and the inhabitants of Cashmeer expressed a desire to be visited by more such Europeans.

17. By having given a simple statement of the traditions of the Affghauns; having ascertained their total unlikeness to the Jews in their physiognomy, and also the total discrepancy of their language from the Hebrew, I think I have demonstrated that the Affghauns are in no wise descendants from the Jews. The assertions of a few of them, that they are of the Children of Israel, does not prove any thing; for they themselves, as well as all the Mohammedans, make a great distinction between Jews and Children of Israel.

18. I have shewn that the idea of the Jews of Bokhara, that the Ten Tribes are around Lassa and in China, is highly probable.

19. A spirit of enquiry was excited among the Hindoos and Mohammedans, from Loodianah (the utmost northern frontier of British India) and from Cashmeer to Bombay. This they have manifested at Delhi, Lucknow, and Cownpore, by their writings.

20. Whole families of Europeans in India have by God's grace been brought from a state of indifference or infidelity, to the saving knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

21. I have proved by experience that a Missionary, under the protection of the Highest, may have grace to persevere in preaching the Gospel of Christ, through good report and evil report, under afflictions, illness, poverty, and persecution.

22. By having spoken truly of the labours of Rhenius at Palamcottah, La Croix, Duff at Calcutta, and Wilson at Bombay, &c. I hope to have placed in clearer light the futility of the observations of those, who say that the Missionaries are doing no good.

23. And I hope to have proved by the simple fact of a Brahmin in the Himmalayah Mountains, beyond the reach of British influence, reading the Gospel of St. Luke in the Nagree characters, with crowds of his disciples around him, that the exertions of the British and Foreign Bible Society are not in vain; and that the Lord is making an overturning, until He comes whose right it is, and who will take possession of the earth in his royal and sacerdotal character.

#### DEPARTURE FROM ALEXANDRIA, AND ARRIVAL AT MALTA.

*March 20.*—Dr. Burnes, Lieut. Macdonald, Mr. Finlay and myself left Alexandria for Malta in the Brig Juno, commanded by Capt. Montano, and after a rough passage of sixteen days, arrived safely in the harbour of Malta; and by God's grace, after an ab-

sence of three years, three months, and eight days, joined once more my beloved wife and child, Hallelujah!

At Malta I met in the house of the Right Honourable Mr. Frere, a most interesting young lady, Statira Lividostro by name, about seventeen years of age, she was a Greek orphan four years of age, when she was bought in Greece from an English Captain of a merchant ship called "the Hope," and was brought to Malta, where the wife of Mr. Frere adopted her, and after the death of Mr. Frere's Lady, Miss Frere, Mr. Frere's sister, took care of her; and in the year 1836, Statira Lividostro was married to a most gallant British officer, Captain Hope, who is son to the Lord President of Scotland, Sir Charles Hope!

#### ORIGIN OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

While at Malta, I obtained from Isa Rassam a very ingenious idea of the origin of the Hebrew language. He says, that Abraham, a Chaldean by birth, spoke originally the Chaldean language; but on his arrival in Arabia, he and his descendants spoke Arabic with a Chaldean pronunciation, so that the Bible was written in a Chaldeo-Arabic dialect. Moses probably wrote that language with Coptic characters, which Ezra changed into Chaldean characters; and there is no doubt that the present Hebrew characters are of Chaldean origin.

#### CONCLUSION.

And at Malta I found also my brethren Schlienzy, Brenner and Weiss, actively engaged in the missionary arsenal of the Church Missionary Society, in preparing, with the assistance of Isa Anthony Rassam, an excellent Chaldean, mighty engines for conquering the kingdom of the Devil, and preparing the establishment of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus our Lord employs divers instruments for overturning, overturning, overturning, until He comes whose right it is!













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